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No. 6 1940

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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

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THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR

BY GEORGI DIMITROFF

I.

THE war has laid its impress on the whole life of the peoples of both belligerent and non-belligerent capitalist states. For eight months in Europe and nearly three years in Asia, the masses have been living in a nightmare of wars. The war is breaking down their whole customary manner of life. It is tearing the working people from productive labor, it is destroying the family, depriving children of their fathers, mothers of their sons and wives of their husbands. It is driving vast masses of people from their homes, bringing indescribable misfortunes down on their heads and converting them into wanderers from pillar to post. The flower of nations, the youth in the first place, is being driven by the bourgeoisie to the field of slaughter. Millions of people at the front and in the rear are contemplating with horror what the morrow will bring, what new calamities there are in store for them.

Sinister flames of war are spreading wider and wider. New fronts and theaters of war are forming one after another. Every blow of one of the belligerent sides evokes a counterblow by the other. In their endeavor to strangle their adversary by economic blockade, to deprive him of supplies and to occupy favorable strategical positions, the British and French war incendiaries are bringing unparalleled pressure to bear on the small neutral states and openly trampled the neutrality of the Scandinavian countries underfoot. Germany retaliated by occupying Denmark and a large part of Norway. England and France in their turn landed troops on Norwegian territory. Norway has been converted into a theater of imperialist war. Conflagration has already spread from the center of Europe to the North to the Scandinavian countries.

One after another the small neutral countries are being embroiled in the war by outside forces. These forces are using the small countries as counters in their pursuit of conquest. What is more, the false huckstering neutrality of the bourgeoisie of the small countries is ac-

tually helping to fan the flames of war. Following the Scandinavian peninsula, the Balkans and the Near East are now under menace. The neutrality of Holland and Belgium, on whose colonies the imperialists have long been casting an eye, hangs on a hair. The belligerent parties are anxious to use the territory of these states as the theater of war and as a thoroughfare for their armies. Italy, which is straining toward the Balkans and is seeking to strengthen her position in the Mediterranean, is only waiting for a favorable moment to join the war.

In the Far East, the Japanese imperialist marauders have plunged five hundred million people into war. Their seizure of Chinese territory and their endeavor to fasten their clutches on the Dutch East Indies are only helping to intensify the antagonisms among the imperialists and to add fuel to the flames.

America is feverishly preparing for war. The bourgeoisie of the United States is banking on the eventual exhaustion of the warring countries in order to step in at the last minute and dictate its terms and seize the lion's share of the spoils in the redivision of the world. Meanwhile it is taking advantage of the distraction caused by the war to weave its toils around Mexico and to penetrate deeper into Latin America, driving out its competitors.

We observe an obvious tendency to extend the war and to convert it into a world shambles, which threatens to bring new and untold hardships on the nations and to exterminate millions of lives for the benefit of the imperialists.

The war has already caused tremendous hardships, want and suffering to the working people of the capitalist countries. The military expenditures of the belligerent states have reached incredible proportions. Military expenditures of the neutral capitalist states are likewise increasing at a furious rate. At the most conservative estimate, the war, including preparations for it, has already cost the big capitalist powers $100,000,000,000, whereas the total military expenditure in the last World War was $180,000,000,000. The bourgeois economists themselves estimate that every day of war costs France 1,000,000,000 francs, Great Britain 7,500,000 pounds and Germany 100,000,000 to 130,000,000 marks. The war in China has already cost Japan 16,000,000,000 yen as compared with the total of 1,500,000,000 yen which the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 cost her.

The bourgeoisie is laying the monstrous cost of the war on the shoulders of the working people. It is drastically increasing the taxation scales and introducing new indirect taxes on articles of general consumption. It is furiously slashing wages and lengthening working hours. The eight-hour day won by the proletariat during the stormy rise of the working class movement in 1919-20 has now been superseded in the capitalist countries by the ten-hour, twelve-hour and even fourteen-hour day. In Japan the

capitalist sharks are compelling the workers in the mills and factories to work sixteen hours a day. The forty-hour week which was one of the cardinal gains of the Popular Front in France has now been replaced by sixty-hour and seventy-hour weeks.

Everywhere the bourgeoisie is abolishing whatever meager assistance was given to the unemployed. The social legislation won by the working class in the course of decades of struggle is being thrown into the discard by the bourgeoisie. Unrestrained and arbitrary rule of capitalist and administrative and military authorities has been established in the factories. The bourgeoisie is driving the workers into labor camps where they are brutally exploited and forced to work without pay. It is binding hundreds of thousands of young men and women in servitude to landlords and rich farmers, condemning them to a life of disfranchisement and pauperism.

No less severe is the lot of the farmers. Taking advantage of the war, the profiteers, bankers and landlords are fastening on the farmers like vampires and draining their lifeblood. In the belligerent countries, the bourgeoisie by calling the whole adult population to the colors is denuding the countryside and laying the whole burden of farm work on the old men, women and children. As a result the crop area is diminishing, a food shortage is arising and the working masses are menaced with starvation.

The military authorities are requisitioning draught cattle, implements and food stocks of the farmers, thus condemning their farms to complete ruin.

The bourgeoisie is robbing the masses by other means as well. It is making huge deductions from the workers' earnings for war purposes and curtailing in every way—by raising prices, rationing, etc.,—the already meager consumption of the working people.

And side by side with all this the profits of the capitalist sharks are reaching monstrous proportions. The sweat and blood of the laboring folk, ground down by exploitation at home or perishing at the front, are minted by the bourgeoisie into gold which pours into its pockets as war profits. The De Wendels, Schneiders, Vickerses and Krupps and others are waxing rich on the suffering of the masses.

In 1915, at the height of the first imperialist World War, Lenin wrote:

"War is a 'terrible' thing, you say? Yes, but it's a terribly *profitable* thing."

The rulers of the capitalist states, who as a general rule are big shareholders in the armament firms, take advantage of their official position to conceal huge profits from the public eye, but even the facts that come to the notice of the public give an idea of how cynically and unscrupulously the magnates of finance capital are robbing the masses.

In Great Britain, for example, according to official data, the shipbuilding firm of Cammel Laird

increased its profits from £150,000 in 1936 to £610,000 in 1939—a four-fold increase. The profits of the British Aluminum Company rose from £773,432 in 1937 to £1,075,796 in 1939.

In France the profits of the Nickel Corporation rose from 53,-600,000 francs in 1937-38 to 153,900,-000 francs in 1938-39—a *threefold* increase. The shares of Schneider-Creusot are quoted at *four times* their nominal value. The shares of the Suez Canal Company, one of the big bosses of which is General Weygand, who combines the post of director of this company with that of commander of the Army in Syria, are being quoted at 18,420 francs per share, when the nominal value is only 250 francs.

No less considerable are the war profits raked in by the "neutral" bourgeoisie of the United States of America. According to the statement of the National City Bank, one of America's largest banking concerns, the net profits of 900 big firms rose from $647,000,000 in 1938 to $1,281,000,000 in 1939, that is, *doubled within one year*. The profits of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in 1936 were only $100,000, but in 1939 this firm raked in a profit of $3,100,000.

Facts like these could be cited by the score.

Nor are the firms of other capitalist countries lagging behind their fellows in their voracity.

These are the people who need the war so as to gorge themselves and rake in huge profits.

A turbid wave of reaction is sweeping over the whole capitalist world. In order to get the masses to fight for a cause which is not their own, the bourgeoisie on the one hand spreads the lie that this war is a just war, and on the other suppresses every anti-war manifestation by means of terror. Everywhere the bourgeoisie is depriving the working people of their elementary rights and liberties, destroying workers' organizations, banning the workers' press and subjecting true and steadfast representatives of the working class to endless police persecution. Prisons and concentration camps are filled to overflowing with the finest sons of the people.

The bourgeoisie has unleashed the whole pack of its gendarmes, police spies and agents provocateurs to combat the working class movement. The secret service agents and the foul Social-Democratic careerists, parsons and government radio broadcasters, corrupt bourgeois journalists and professional thugs, brutal military judges and hypocritical pacifists have all joined in the crusade against the class whose foremost representatives are courageously demanding cessation of the imperialist holocaust.

In all capitalist countries the most reactionary forces of imperialism raised their heads on the outbreak of the war and ever since they have been setting the tone to the whole political life of these countries. In France they are introducing the death penalty for anybody who is found with an illegal anti-war leaflet in his possession. In England they are preparing to strangle the

workers' press in the noose of censorship and are demanding that the Communist Party should be banned. In the United States they are unleashing against workers' organizations men of the type of Dies. In Sweden they are engineering fires, explosions and murders in the offices of workers' newspapers. The sinister shades of Thiers, the butcher of the Paris Commune, of Nicholas the Bloody and the satraps of the tsarist autocracy are hovering over the country which once heralded the declaration of the Rights of Man. These accursed shades are beginning to loom over the entire capitalist world.

The longer the war lasts the more it is being revealed as an *imperialist reactionary war against the people's interests.* The masses are realizing more and more clearly that this is an *imperialist* war because the bourgeoisie which holds power and determines the aims of war is out for conquest and plunder and subjugation of other nations. They are realizing more and more clearly that this is a war *against the people's interests* because it is a war for the rich and because the poor are bearing all its burdens and costs, are suffering and dying in order that the rich may grow richer. The masses are realizing more and more clearly that this is a *reactionary* war because in order to wage the imperialist war the bourgeoisie are launching another war, a war against their own people whom they are squeezing in a vise and condemning to political disfranchisement and slavery.

It would be naive to think that after they have dragged more than one thousand million people into war, after they have already mobilized twenty million men and staked everything on this war in their struggle for world hegemony, the imperialists will stop half-way. On the contrary, they will do their utmost to secure decision of their imperialist dispute on the field of battle, criminally shedding the blood of their own people and of other peoples under their power. The imperialists will not voluntarily consent to the cessation of war, they will not renounce their plan of extending it and converting it into a world carnage as long as the international working class and the people of their countries do not put an end to their monstrous villainy.

That is the first conclusion which the working people of the capitalist countries should draw today.

II.

A task of the greatest magnitude and of the utmost gravity falls to the lot of the international proletariat. *It is to prevent the spread of the war to other countries, to resist it conversion into a world slaughter and, in defiance of the criminal designs of the bourgeoisie, to deliver the peoples from the abyss of imperialist war.*

The working class is the only international class, a class which is solidly united by the community of interests of all its various national units and which is not interested in the seizure of colonies nor in the op-

pression of nationalities nor in the world supremacy of any of the imperialist powers.

The working class is the most advanced class in society, whose mission it is to liberate itself and all laboring people from the yoke of capitalism which is the root cause of wars. It is the only class which is capable of uniting all sections of the laboring people, in each of the countries and internationally, in a common front against imperialist war, to rouse them to struggle against war and to organize and lead that struggle.

Is the world proletariat equal to this task? It undoubtedly is. It is true that owing to saboteurs, wreckers and traitors of the Second International much that could and should have been done before was left undone. As a result, the bourgeoisie has been able to embroil the nations in its war of plunder. But the war is not only causing difficulties for the struggle of the working class; it is also causing tremendous difficulties for the bourgeoisie itself. It is undermining the foundations of capitalism. It is evoking profound dissatisfaction among broad masses of people and shaking their faith in the bourgeoisie. The war is rousing sections of society which in times of "peace" hold aloof from "politics" and whose passivity the bourgeoisie takes advantage of in order to maintain its supremacy. The chances for the working class in its struggle are enhanced by the fact that it may draw fresh strength from an inexhaustible source, the people, whereas the reserves of the bourgeoisie are failing and will continue to fail.

The potential strength of the working class is tremendous. But with the help of its machinery of force and deceit and the assistance of its vile Social-Democratic agents in the working class movement, the bourgeoisie saps the strength of the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie fools the working masses with the myth that this is a "war against fascism" and with demagogic propaganda to the effect that the workers have an interest in colonial expansion; it takes advantage of the nationalist prejudices of backward sections of the working people and tries to infect them with the virus of chauvinism. The bourgeoisie divides and disunites the workers and endeavors to stifle in them the sentiment of international proletarian solidarity with the help of the fable that within the imperialist state the exploited and the exploiters have common interests. It endeavors to intimidate the workers in each of the countries by playing on their natural disinclination to become the object of conquest by some foreign imperialist state.

The bourgeoisie brings its whole system of deceit, lying and hypocrisy to bear to undermine the faith of the working class in its own strength, to disrupt its ranks and to frustrate its struggle against imperialist war, reaction and capitalism.

Therefore if the working class is to bring into action the tremendous forces latent in it, it is of the utmost importance to liberate the

working masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie.

Only a working class which has a clear understanding of its own interests in the present war, interests that coincide with the fundamental interests of the people and which conducts *its own active proletarian policy independent of the bourgeoisie* can inspire the non-proletarian laboring masses with confidence in its strength and enlist them in decisive struggle against those who are responsible for their privations and sufferings.

The more vigorously the proletariat takes the field against its own bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, the more powerfully will it stimulate the struggle against war among the proletarians of the state with which its country is at war. That is the guarantee of success in the united international struggle of the world proletariat against the imperialist war.

The overwhelming majority of the world's population is against war. The workers do not want it nor do the farmers nor working townsfolk. "There is no people in the world that desire war." (Stalin.)

The peoples need peace, not war. The movement for peace is growing universally. Wherever the least legal opportunity still exists the struggle for peace finds expression in workers' meetings and conferences, in demonstrations and even in strikes; in countries where such opportunities do not exist the movement manifests itself in other forms (distribution of illegal literature, chalked inscriptions in places frequented by workers, "slow-down" strikes, etc.).

In Great Britain, local trade union and Labor Party organizations in all the big working class centers—London, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Sheffield and Birmingham—are publicly demanding peace. At the recent conference of the Cooperative Party one-third of the delegates, representing *one million three hundred thousand members,* supported the resolution in favor of peace. A conference convened by the *Labour Monthly* and representing 300,000 workers unanimously condemned the imperialist war and called upon the masses to wage an active struggle against it.

In the United States, the American Youth Congress, which met in Washington from February 9 to 12, and which represented some *five million* young men and women belonging to organizations of diverse political trends, vigorously declared its opposition to the imperialist war and to the United States being drawn into it. The recent condemnation of war by *millions* of American students shows that even the intellectuals of this powerful capitalist country are losing faith in capitalism which is the source of imperialist wars.

It may be said without exaggeration that there is no country in the world where the yearning of the masses for peace has not been manifested in one form or another. This movement is still in its early stages, but it will inevitably spread and grow as the war proceeds. But if the movement for peace is to

exert a decisive influence on the course of events it must be united and led by the working class.

In its struggle for peace the world proletariat will find support in the small countries whose peoples have no desire to be puppets of the imperialists and who do not want to be forced into the war and to lose their independence.

The peoples of the colonies and the dependent countries who are struggling against imperialism are the allies of the proletariat in its struggle for peace. The war of national liberation of the great Chinese people against Japanese imperialism is not only a defense of the integrity and independence of China, but is also a tremendous help to the peoples of Europe in their struggle against imperialist war. Also of great support to the international proletariat is the movement of the masses of India against being drawn into the war by British imperialism and for the abolition of British rule and the independence of their country. There we observe a rising tide of strikes, the student movement is spreading, the "civil disobedience" campaign is gathering force; the Indian liberation struggle is assuming increasingly resolute forms. The action of the Mexican people in resistance to the claims of the American imperialists, the movement of solidarity with this action in Chile, Cuba and Argentina, and the rising struggle of the masses in the Latin American countries against imperialist servitude go hand in hand with the movement for peace in the United States, and are thus rendering no little assistance to the international proletariat in its struggle against imperialist war.

But the greatest and most decisive force, the most powerful bulwark of the struggle of the world proletariat in the cause of peace *is the great Land of Socialism.* Amid this raging welter of violence, this orgy of inflamed imperialist appetites, this savage incitement of nation against nation by the bourgeoisie, the U.S.S.R. *alone* is pursuing a firm and consistent policy of peace conforming to the interests of the working people of all countries.

The Soviet Union did everything in its power to prevent the present war. By its treaty with Germany it raised a barrier to the spread of war to Eastern Europe. It wrested thirteen million inhabitants of West Ukraine and West Byelorussia from the clutches of war. It prevented the conversion of the Baltic countries into a war base. The victory of the gallant Red Army over the Finnish White Guards eliminated the hotbed of war at its very frontiers, and by concluding peace with Finland it foiled the plans of the British and French warmongers and strengthened and supported the resistance of a number of small countries to being dragged into the war. By its independent foreign policy, the policy of the socialist state, which is not interested in colonies nor annexations, nor imperialist wars, it has enhanced the security of its borders and has guaranteed the benefits of peace to its people.

The historic mission of the inter-

national proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war imperatively demands:

First, union of the fighting forces of the working class within each country;

Second, a genuine popular front of working people, led by the working class;

Third, united action of the proletariat internationally, and its own independent, single international policy in the struggle against imperialist war;

Fourth, a combination of the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries with the anti-imperialist movement in the colonial and dependent countries;

Fifth, the rallying of the working people around the great Land of Socialism, the only state which champions the cause of peace among nations and which defends the vital interests of the working people of the whole world.

Such a united front of the working class, such a broad front of the working people can be created only by relentless struggle against the most perfidious enemies of the working class and of socialism—the Social-Democratic leaders.

That is the second conclusion which the working people should draw today.

III.

The chief obstacle preventing the working class from fulfilling its role of leader and organizer of the struggle of the working masses against the imperialist war is Social-Democracy.

The Blums, Jouhaux, Attlees and Citrines share with the bourgeoisie direct responsibility for the present imperialist war. By their whole treacherous policy prior to the war, the Social-Democratic parties helped to pave the way for war and to expedite it. Even in countries like France where, under pressure of the masses, they joined in the united front with the Communists, their leaders, behind the backs of the masses, discussed with the bourgeoisie ways and means of putting an end to this "experiment" at the earliest possible moment, of bridling the working class and of carrying out the imperialist plans of their bourgeoisie in the most effective manner.

When the war broke out the Social-Democrats appeared in the role of the most bellicose and jingoistic party of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Without the active support of the Social-Democratic parties and the reformist trade unions, the bourgeoisie of England and France would not be able to wage this war.

As we know, the proletariat of Great Britain comprises more than 70 per cent of the population. If the majority of British workers had not been bound hand and foot by the Labor Party and the trade union leaders, if they had not been politically and organizationally under the sway of the agents of British imperialism, the British bourgeoisie could not have proclaimed war or, having proclaimed it, have waged it for a single week. If the

Blums and Jouhaux in France had not disrupted the Popular Front movement, had not betrayed its program and surrendered the General Confederation of Labor into the hands of the police, employers and the government, the French bourgeoisie would not have dared to launch this reactionary war, this war against the people's interests.

The Social-Democratic and reformist trade union leaders have always taken the same stand as their masters, the imperialists; with servile zeal they defend their aims in the war, camouflaging the rapacity of these aims by the pharisaical lie that they are just aims. These despicable Social-Democratic lackeys of imperialism are in favor of "war to a victorious finish." They cynically declare that they are out to secure for Europe and the whole world a "new order and new relations between nations and states." But they picture this "new order" as nothing but undivided supremacy of British and French imperialism over the world.

A section of the French "Socialists" are demanding nothing more nor less than reversion to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, that is, the time when Germany was split into dozens of small principalities. The Blums and Attlees are shamelessly demanding that the small neutral countries immediately enter the war on the side of the Anglo-French bloc. Limping after the Blums and Attlees are the Hoeglunds and Tranmaels who have gone over body and soul to the service of British imperialism. *The war which is already in progress is not enough for this gang. They are calling for a crusade against the great Land of Socialism.*

The Hilferdings and Stampfers have become agents of the British and French warmongers and are banking on a victory for the Allies, hoping once more to plant themselves on the backs of the German proletariat with the help of British and French bayonets. The Spanish Prietos and Caballeros are playing up to the Anglo-French bloc with the object of securing restoration in Spain of a "liberal monarchy," which will be looked upon with favor by the British imperialists.

The Social-Democratic "theoreticians" are trying to outdo the bourgeois ideologists by declaring that "no contrast can any longer be drawn between the working class and other classes of the country," that the "whole theory of the class struggle must be revised," that capitalism is not responsible for the present war, and that in general "there is no connection between capitalism and war."

Besides defending and propagating the imperialist aims of the war, the Social-Democratic and reformist trade union leaders also bear direct responsibility for the capitalist offensive against the workers' standard of living, for the cost of the war being placed on the shoulders of the working people, for the riot of reaction and military and police terrorism. By their whole criminal policy they have been working to prevent the working class from resisting, to restrain the workers

from decisive action and to hinder the union of their forces, thus facilitating the offensive of capital and reaction and the fanning of the imperialist war.

It is not surprising that this policy of the traitorous leaders, by arousing indignation in the ranks of the Social-Democratic workers, is causing disunity within the Social-Democratic parties and aggravating the crisis of Social-Democracy. Opposition to this criminal policy is growing in the British Labor Party, the French Socialist Party, the Belgian Labor Party, the Swiss Social-Democratic Party and in the Social-Democratic Parties of a number of other countries. The gulf between the Social-Democratic leadership and the rank and file, between the traitor pack and the honest, active workers, is growing wider and wider. But the more the masses desert the Social-Democratic Parties, the more savage will become the rage of the Social-Democratic leaders who are fed from the tables of the bourgeoisie.

The present war has thrown an even cruder light on the conversion of the Social-Democratic leadership into an instrument for the suppression of the working class, it has exposed even more clearly their interest in preserving capitalist exploitation and in the plunder of colonial nations.

We should always bear in mind what Comrade Stalin said:

"The present Social-Democracy is the *ideological prop of capitalism.* Lenin was absolutely right when he said that the present Social-Democratic politicians are the 'real agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement, the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class,' that in the 'civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie' they will inevitably range themselves 'on the side of the Versaillese people against the Communards.' *It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to Social-Democracy in the labor movement.*" (J.V. Stalin, "The International Character of the October Revolution," in *The October Revolution,* p. 164, International Publishers, New York.)

An essential condition for success in the struggle of the working people against imperialist war and capitalist reaction is to open the eyes of the masses to the treacherous role of Social-Democracy, to arouse the anger and indignation of the masses against it, to wage relentless struggle against Social-Democratism. Hence the elimination of Social-Democratism from the ranks of the working class movement is the duty not only of the Communist vanguard but of all honest members of the working class movement and of the entire working class.

That is the third conclusion which the working people should draw today.

IV.

In the midst of the imperialist war and the profound shocks to which capitalism is being subjected, the role and significance of the Communist Parties are immensely enhanced. Communists are the only ones who are indicating to the

masses the way out of the inferno of imperialist war, the way of salvation from reaction, starvation and want. The bourgeoisie is afraid of the Communists, for Communists at the head of the working class and the working class at the head of the people represent a force powerful enough to upset all its calculations.

Wherein does the strength of the Communists lie? In the fact that they know what they want and what they want reflects the interests of the toiling millions. It lies further in the fact that the path of salvation they are indicating to the masses is not a thing of fancy, not a subjective wish, but is based on the great historical experience of the working class, which is already victorious over one-sixth of the globe.

The strength of the Communists lies in the fact that they were, are and always will be the only Party that has at every stage of the struggle consistently and self-sacrificingly championed the immediate demands and ultimate aims of the working class. The strength of the Communists lies in the fact that their great teachers, Lenin and Stalin, foresaw with the eye of genius where the bourgeoisie was heading for and warned the masses that it was making not for democracy but for the worst kind of reaction; not for a higher standard of living for the masses, but for a monstrous intensification of capitalist exploitation; not for peace among nations but for new imperialist wars. The strength of the Communists lies in the fact that the masses are being more and more convinced by their own experience of the truth of the great teachings of Leninism. The strength of the Communists lies in the fact that they are the Party of the Working Class, which has arisen from the ranks of the people and which remains true to the people in their hour of direst suffering. All the activities of the Communists demonstrate to the masses that the Communist Party is a party with a single will, a party united in action, a party of staunch principles whose word and deed never diverge.

And these attributes of Communists are especially manifest in this present war. In one of the most crucial moments in the life of the nations, the Communist Parties have emerged from the test with flying colors. They *alone* courageously raised aloft the banner of struggle against imperialist war, withstood the tide of artificially excited chauvinism, tirelessly exposed the bourgeois lie of national unity and denounced the legend that this is a "war against fascism." Today they *no longer stand alone.* They are more and more becoming the mouthpiece of broad masses of working people. The courageous behavior of the French Communist Members of Parliament before the military tribunal was the concentrated expression of the thoughts, sentiments and aspirations of the working people not only of France but of other countries as well. Despite the savagery of reaction the slogans of the Communists are meet-

ing with an ever wider response among the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people. These slogans are penetrating to the ranks of the working people of England, where opposition to the policy of political truce and the imperialist war is steadily growing. The bold struggle of the American Communists to prevent the United States from being drawn into the war is meeting with active and ever-growing sympathy among the C.I.O. unions and in the ranks of the reactionary-led American Federation of Labor. In countries where the bourgeoisie had established its terrorist regime before the present war, where it was able to deal very heavy blows to the Communist Parties and where the latter are only just beginning to recover from these blows, the Communists, in spite of the organizational weakness of their Parties, are holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

But the Communists not only express the aspirations of the masses. The Communist Parties are more and more becoming the organizing centers of the movement. The Communists know that their task is not only to enlighten the masses but also to organize them for struggle, to wrest the mass organizations of the working people from the influence of the agents of the bourgeoisie and to frustrate their policy of class collaboration with the capitalists, to fight untiringly for improved conditions for the working people and for the transfer of the burdens of the war to the bourgeoisie and to defend every inch of the rights and liberties of the working people.

The war has created entirely new and immeasurably greater difficulties for the struggle of the Communist Parties. But Communists are only steeled by difficulties. The ranks of the Communist Parties have become more solidly welded. After some hesitation on the outbreak of the war, the Parties rapidly succeeded in finding the right path. Individual corrupt elements have been thrown overboard. A number of Communist Parties which had grown up under conditions of legality were in the early months of the war wholly or partly driven underground. But the Communist Parties are reconstructing their work in action under the fire of the enemy, and adapting themselves to new conditions. The favorable results achieved by the Communist Parties in this respect are far from equal in all countries. They are most considerable where the Communist Parties have the strongest ties with the masses, where their leaders suffered the least from legalist illusions and benefited most from the experience of the revolutionary working class movement in other countries.

Communists do not lose sight of the fact that as the war goes on the bourgeoisie will become more and more savage in their measures against them, that in addition to direct violence and malicious slander it will resort to every species of blackmail and provocation. It will do everything in its power to smash the Communist vanguard and iso-

late it from the broad masses of the working people and thus retard the movement against war and capitalism. In the struggle against this reactionary offensive the Communist Parties will find support in the ranks of the working class and other laboring classes whom every day of war is showing that the Communists are fighting devotedly in defense of their interests, that the Communists have no other interest than to serve the cause of the proletariat and the people. And the masses will come more and more to realize that it is to their vital interests to defend and support the Communists. Defending the Communist Parties from the blows of reaction is the first line of self-defense for the working class and the whole people.

Thousands of valorous fighters are now arising from the ranks of the proletariat and of all sections of the laboring people. New and courageous forces are springing up. New reinforcements are coming forward from the ranks of the working youth and of the women. No persecution by the bourgeoisie will daunt these fighters. Their value is inestimable. One of the cardinal conditions for the fulfilment by the Communist Parties of their vanguard role in the struggle for the earliest cessation of the imperialist carnage is to draw these people into the ranks of the Communist Parties, to strengthen and consolidate their ties with the masses and train them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Peace, which the people want, would be a very severe blow to imperialism and a signal victory for the working class over the bourgeoisie. But this peace can only be won by the struggle of the masses. Victory, Comrade Stalin teaches us, never comes of its own accord—it has to be won. And in order to win it, today, as never before, the working class needs strong and militant Communist Parties, bound to the masses by thousands of threads, Parties equipped with advanced revolutionary theory, Parties capable of learning, Bolshevik-fashion, from the experience of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin how to fight and win. Such Parties are forged in severe battles of the working people against their class enemy. *Only when headed by such Parties will the working people be victorious.*

That is the most important conclusion which the working people of the capitalist countries will draw today.

May 1, 1940.

LENIN VERSUS SOCIAL-DEMOCRATISM

BY D. Z. MANUILSKY

LENIN'S name is inseparably connected with the foundation of the Communist International. The world imperialist war of 1914-18, the monstrous betrayal of the fundamental principles of socialism by the leaders of the Second, pre-war International and the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia all served to create the objective and subjective premises for the foundation of a new international, the Communist International, the International of Lenin and Stalin, which continued the militant traditions of the First International, the International of Marx and Engels.

The foundation of the Third, Communist International, was an expression of the anger and protest of the working class and of all working people against the monstrous crimes of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which had plunged the peoples into a bloody and devastating war, the like of which history had never seen before. The foundation of the Communist International was also the expression of the confidence of millions of workers in the capitalist countries in the great socialist revolution, the expression of support of the heroic struggle that was being waged by the workers and peasants of Russia who, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin, were showing the working people of all countries the road to emancipation, the methods by which the peoples themselves could put an end to the imperialist war by inflicting defeat upon their own imperialist bourgeoisie. It was the retort of the advanced workers to the black treachery of the leaders of international Social-Democracy who had inveigled the working people into the imperialist slaughter for the sake of the imperialist interests of the bourgeoisie.

The Communist International could come into being because Lenin and Stalin had reared a party of a new type, which had assimilated the best revolutionary experience of decades of the international working class movement, the best traditions of organization of the German working class and the heroic ardor of the Paris workers

of the time of the Commune; a Party that personified the aspirations of the European proletariat and of the colonial peoples striving for liberation.

The Communist International could come into being because for many years Lenin and Stalin had systematically waged a struggle of principles against all varieties of opportunism—against the Social-Revolutionaries, against Menshevism, Trotskyism and Anarchism in the Russian arena; and in the international arena against Bernsteinism, Centrism, Jauresism and the German Rights who were screened by the Centrists; against the indecision and semi-Menshevik mistakes of the German Lefts and against the ultra-Left windbags, who used super-revolutionary phrases to mask the worst kind of compromise and opportunism. This staunch struggle which Lenin and Stalin waged against the agents of the class enemy in the working class movement taught, trained and steeled the militant cadres of the working class which today constitute the Communist Parties in capitalist countries.

And today, when the imperialist rulers have again plunged the peoples of Europe and Asia into war, when the social-chauvinists of the Second International have degenerated into a gang of *White Guard* warmongers, the proletarians of all countries are turning to the experience of the Bolshevik Party in the struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism, to the great doctrines of Lenin and Stalin. In the classical works of Lenin and Stalin, they seek an answer to the burning questions of the day.

* * *

Lenin rendered a great service by exposing the social roots of opportunism. Lenin revealed the parasitism of capitalism in its imperialist stage of development. He showed that as a result of their ruthless plunder of subject colonies the big imperialist powers obtain "super-profits," which transform the numerically small exploiting classes in those countries into parasites on the bodies of hundreds of millions of colonial and dependent peoples.

He showed that the bourgeoisie of the big states which own colonies use part of this "super-profit" to bribe the upper stratum of the working class, to put it in a privileged position compared not only with the workers and peasants in the colonies, but even with the bulk of the working class at home, and thereby give this stratum an interest in the existence of the imperialist system and colonial robbery. As a result, in the imperialist countries, a small, selfish, conservative and imperialistically-minded "aristocracy of labor" has arisen which is bought and corrupted by imperialism. This "aristocracy of labor" was the bearer of the ideas of pre-war (pre-1914-18) opportunism and now comes out as the champion of the "ideas" of contemporary Social-Democratism. It constitutes the main cadres of the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions.

The mechanism of parliamentary "democracy" proved to be a convenient tool in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie for the purpose of taming the "labor leaders" by providing them with soft jobs in the bourgeois state, on all sorts of committees, in insurance societies, cooperative societies and reformist trade unions. By playing on the weak side of these "labor leaders," on their overweening vanity, and surrounding them with cheap flattery, by giving them entry to the ante-chambers of the ruling aristocracy, by advertising in the columns of the "solid" bourgeois press their "statesmanship" and "outstanding abilities," the bourgeoisie skilfully killed the last remnants of their conscience, taught them to be ashamed of their working-class origin and gradually to adopt the mode of life and thought of the corrupt society around them, and converted them into the "lieutenants" of capital, into its cynical and swaggering agents in the working class movement.

The bourgeois degeneration of this aristocracy of labor was facilitated by the

". . . period of relatively peaceful development of capitalism, a prewar period, so to speak, when the disastrous contradictions of imperialism had not yet so obviously revealed themselves, when economic strikes and trade unions developed more or less 'normally,' when in the electoral struggles and parliamentary fractions 'dizzy' successes were achieved, when the legal forms of struggle were exalted to the skies, and when it was hoped to 'kill' capitalism by legal means. In other words, it was a period when the parties of the Second International were becoming gross and stodgy, and no longer wanted to think seriously about revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the revolutionary training of the masses." (J. V. Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 20-21. International Publishers, New York.)

The war of 1914-18 marked the close of the period of the relatively peaceful development of capitalism and ushered in the general crisis of the whole capitalist system. The victorious great socialist revolution, by creating a new world of flourishing socialism on one-sixth of the globe, accelerated the process of decay and death of capitalism. The cyclical economic crises assumed a creeping and protracted character, paving the way for the crisis of 1929-33, which was of enormous destructive force. The parliamentary regime collapsed in country after country. The bourgeoisie began to seek a way out of the insoluble contradictions of capitalism by launching a furious offensive against the standard of living of the working people, by establishing open forms of bourgeois dictatorship and by new imperialist wars.

What became of the "aristocracy of labor" amidst the *general crisis of capitalism?* Everywhere, even in the richest imperialist countries, which had plundered their rivals during the world imperialist war of 1914-18, the aristocracy of labor declined. At the same time, the

number of workers deprived of all means of livelihood, of those forced out of industry by crises, without any hope of ever returning to the machine again, increased enormously, as also did the number of those engaged in unproductive occupations. There was also an increase in the number of declassed elements whom the bourgeoisie utilized for every sort of reactionary coup. The general standard of living of the working class dropped very sharply. And as the colonial rule of the big imperialist powers was not broken by the World War of 1914-18, or by the economic and political crises which followed it, the bourgeoisie continued to feed this smaller "aristocracy of labor" at the expense of Hindus, Chinese, Negroes, Arabs, Malayans, Anamites, etc., etc., whose standard of living was still further reduced. This applies mainly to England and France, the two biggest colonial empires who emerged as the "victors" from the war of 1914-18 and, as is commonly known, imposed upon vanquished Germany huge indemnities (also in the nature of colonial "super-profit" pumped out of a European country).

It applies also to the United States —a country which, as a result of the World War accelerating the uneven development of capitalism, advanced to the leading place in the capitalist world. Ruthlessly exploiting the countries of Latin America under the flag of the Monroe Doctrine and exploiting the Philippines, pumping super-profits out of China under cover of the "open door" policy, and, above all, having piled up colossal wealth out of the World War, the American bourgeoisie succeeded in the post-war period, with the aid of its high dividends, in keeping the most reactionary aristocracy of labor in the world on a chain, in company "unions" and in the American Federation of Labor. The economic crisis of 1929-33 alone, by profoundly shaking American capitalism, shook the position of this aristocracy, undermined its influence in the American working class movement and caused a considerable radicalization of the working class in the United States, reflected in the formation of industrial unions.

A privileged upper stratum of "lieutenants" of capital existed not only in countries which owned colonies. The bourgeoisie of the Scandinavian countries owned no colonies, but for years it fed at the rich table of the British bourgeoisie, entered their system of world trade (the Norwegian mercantile fleet was the second largest in Europe, next to the British), waxed rich in this trade, waxed rich by selling armaments (Sweden) and on lucrative "neutrality" during the World War. It was thus in a position to throw scraps from its table to its aristocracy of labor and allow the latter to deceive the masses with fairy tales about "Scandinavian socialism."

The situation was somewhat different in the countries that suffered defeat in the World War of 1914-18, for example, in Germany. Here, the bourgeoisie enjoyed no colonial super-profits. On the con-

trary, as a result of the Versailles Treaty an enormous burden of reparations was imposed on Germany, which it paid by means of foreign loans and by sharply reducing expenditure on armaments, but mainly by increasing the exploitation of the German workers and peasants. During those critical days for German capitalism, the bourgeoisie put the Social-Democrats into power. And the Social-Democrats, becoming the government party, seated thousands of their party functionaries around the government pie, created a bureaucracy that was connected with the capitalist state with every fibre of its being.

But the more capitalism became entangled in difficulties, the worse the conditions of the vast masses of workers became, the more difficult it became for the bourgeoisie to hold these masses under the influence of its Social-Democratic agents, the more feverishly it sought for new means of disuniting the workers and causing demoralization in their ranks. By destroying parliamentarism and establishing the open bourgeois dictatorship in a number of countries, it drove the Social-Democratic bureaucrats out of their soft jobs, but in their place, as for example in Poland, put an equally parasitic strata of still more avaricious, corrupt and dishonest idlers and blackmailers who demanded material compensation for loyalty to the new regime "from the start."

In multi-national states, the Balkans, for example, the bourgeoisie sowed discord among the workers of the various nationalities, discriminating between the "sons"—the workers of the ruling nation—and the "step-sons," the workers of the oppressed nations. In all capitalist countries the bourgeoisie utilized capitalist rationalization and the vast unemployment created by the latter and by economic crises for the purpose of clearing the advanced and more class-conscious workers out of the factories.

Thus, adapting itself to the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, the bourgeoisie, making concessions here and there, granting insignificant privileges to certain categories of workers, strives to disunite them, to prevent them from rallying, to defeat them piecemeal, and thus prolong the existence of capitalism.

* * *

In 1916, Lenin wrote about the two conflicting tendencies in the international working class movement:

"On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and opportunists to convert a handful of the richest, privileged nations into 'eternal' parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to 'rest on the laurels' of exploitation of Negroes, Hindus, etc., by keeping them in subjection with the aid of the excellent technique of destruction of modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the *masses,* who are more oppressed than formerly and who bear the brunt of the suffering caused by imperialist wars, to throw off that

yoke, to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Henceforth, the history of the labor movement will inevitably unfold itself in the struggle between these two tendencies." (V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement," *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, Russian ed.)

Lenin said that as the class struggle between the working people and their exploiters becomes more acute, which will be reflected in the intensification and increased acuteness of the struggle between the two tendencies revealed in the international labor movement, the *upper stratum of international Social-Democracy would degenerate still further.* The whole course of events since the war of 1914-18 has proved that Lenin was right. In a number of countries the Social-Democratic leaders came out, as Lenin foresaw, "on the side of Versailles against the Communards." This is what happened in Russia (the Mensheviks in the camp of Kolchak and Wrangel), in Germany (Noske), in Austria, in Bulgaria and other countries.

Today, the social-chauvinists of the Second International are not only revising and distorting Marxism; in the overwhelming majority of cases they are utterly *renouncing it.* They are more and more slipping, if not in words, then in deeds, into the "new ideology" that came into being in Italy and has spread to a number of other capitalist countries. Today, the leaders of the Second International are not only advocating defense of the bourgeois fatherland, they are the most bellicose party in the camp of imperialism, they are the crassest warmongers. Today, they not only oppose bourgeois democracy to proletarian dictatorship; on the pretext of supporting an "anti-fascist war" they are helping the bourgeoisie to establish the open terroristic form of bourgeois dictatorship in those countries where up to now the bourgeois dictatorship was cloaked by parliamentarism. Today, they are not only combating "Bolshevik methods" of emancipating the working people; they are openly calling for war against the Land of Socialism. In Spain and France they disrupted the united workers' front of Social-Democratic workers and Communists. Today, they are in a united front against Communism with the blackest forces of world reaction, with Mannerheim, Franco, the Pope, the English lords, the Paris bankers and the bosses of the New York Stock Exchange.

Today, the Blums, Jouhaux, Attlees and Citrines are furiously demanding that the Communists be shot because the bourgeoisie of other countries want to deprive the British and French bourgeoisie of their colonies. The Hoeglunds and Tranmaels are pouring the vials of their impotent wrath upon the Communists because the hopes of the bourgeoisie of the Scandinavian countries to amass wealth out of the misfortunes of the peoples in the belligerent countries are collapsing. The Thomases and Greens are prepared to throttle the Communists in the United States, because the affairs of American capitalism are

not improving so much as a result of the war in Europe, because the "open door" in the colonies is being slammed in the faces of the American bourgeoisie by other imperialist robbers. In all capitalist countries the Versaillese of the Second International are instigating war against Communism in order to protect the imperialist interests of their bourgeoisie.

Lenin and Stalin foresaw the inevitable ideological and political bankruptcy of Social-Democratism. Facts have proven that Lenin and Stalin were right. *Not a single forecast made by the Social-Democrats since August 1, 1914, has been confirmed by the course of events.* The legend about the "last war," the legend of the League of Nations as a panacea against all future imperialist wars, have collapsed. Bourgeois democracy has proven to be not "the road to socialism" but the road to the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The partial and relative stabilization of capitalism, the contradictions of which were to give rise, as Comrade Stalin said at the Fifteenth Party Conference (C.P.S.U.), "to the most profound and most acute crisis of world capitalism, pregnant with new wars, and threatening the existence of any sort of stabilization, withered before it bloomed." Who today remembers the era of "organized capitalism" that was proclaimed by the Social-Democrats? What has become of the notorious industrial democracy? Who today would dare to defend the tactics of the "lesser evil" by means of which the German Social-Democrats promised to check the onslaught of reaction? Facts have shown that the Social-Democrats did not avert but paved the way for the present imperialist war by their "policy of non-intervention," by their policy of instigating separate local wars.

All this was a despicable fraud by means of which the Social-Democratic leaders, journalists and members of parliament lulled the vigilance of the masses and helped the bourgeoisie in pursuing its imperialist policy. Equally fraudulent is the present legend circulated by the Social-Democrats about the "anti-fascist character" of the war, their widely advertised plans to "reorganize the world" and to create "a Federation of Europe." Actually, these slogans are intended to conceal the outlines of a new imperialist redivision of the world, the aspirations of world supremacy of England and France, the plans to dismember Germany and annex small countries, the plans for the unbridled exploitation of the colonies by the Anglo-French imperialist trust operating under the flag of the United States of Federated Europe.

Lenin and Stalin also foresaw the inevitable organizational collapse of Social-Democratism in the working class movement. But they taught us that this collapse of Social-Democratism would take place as a result of profound and acute shocks to the capitalist system, that it would take place not as a result of one blow, but of a number of social outbursts, as a result of a persistent, deter-

mined, self-sacrificing struggle waged by the Communists against the agents of the class enemy in the working class movement.

"The era of dying capitalism," said Comrade Stalin, "is also the era of dying Social-Democratism in the labor movement."

Capitalism is dying before our eyes in the midst of a desperate struggle that all the forces of the old world are waging against the rising new world—the socialist world—amidst bloody imperialist wars, raging reaction, the sucking of the sweat and blood of the working people by this expiring monster. Like a wounded beast, capitalism is fighting furiously for every inch of ground, to prolong its existence; there is not a crime the bourgeoisie will hesitate to commit to achieve this object. In moments of danger it resorts to every means, mobilizes all its as yet unexhausted reserves, to thwart, to forestall and crush the movement of the working masses against capitalism.

The present war is a very dangerous business for the bourgeoisie. The expenditure already incurred by the big capitalist powers amounts to about $100,000,000,000. For the people it means ruin on a scale unprecedented in human history; for capitalism, which entered the war in a state of general crisis, it means the depletion of its reserves. Thrusting all the burdens of the war upon the working people, the bourgeoisie is at the same time exerting incredible efforts to preserve the aristocracy of labor even on this shrunken basis of capitalist reserves. The bourgeoisie needs the aristocracy of labor, needs it very much, to keep the front and the rear in subjection during the imperialist war. In their turn, the Blums and the Citrines need the bourgeoisie. They, too, want to live. And the Swedish Hoeglunds and Norwegian Tranmaels want to live, they, too, want to feed at the same trough as the Blums and the Citrines have been feeding for so long. They all need capitalism because it feeds them, because with its bayonets it is saving them from political death, because the priests, the police and the gendarmes who protect the bourgeois system are doing their utmost to preserve the influence of the Blums and Citrines in the working class movement.

". . . Behind Sudekum," wrote Lenin during the imperialist war of 1914-18, "there stand the bourgeoisie, the government and the General Staff of a great power. They support Sudekum's policy in a thousand ways, whereas the policy of his opponents is frustrated by all means, including prison and the firing squad. Sudekum's voice is broadcast by the bourgeois press in millions of copies of newspapers (so are the voices of Vandervelde, Sembat, Plekhanov), whereas the voice of his opponents *cannot* be heard in the legal press because of the military censorship!" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V., pp. 208-209. International Publishers, New York.)

And this joint responsibility which unites the Social-Democratic

leaders with the bourgeoisie manifests itself most distinctly in time of war, which intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism, which brings the class struggle to the utmost tension, and causes a general differentiation of classes and peoples, of the forces of imperialism and of the anti-imperialist forces of liberation.

The present imperialist war is accelerating the death of capitalism. It is putting into motion the forces, objective and subjective, that are paving the way for the organizational collapse of Social-Democratism. The war is putting at stake the very possibility of the British and French bourgeoisie obtaining further super-profits from the colonies.

At the same time, as the capitalist system becomes more and more dislocated as a result of the further development of the war, the chances of the imperialists creating new, stable colonial empires are becoming more and more doubtful. It is absurd to think that in a Europe shaken by war a new aristocracy of labor of the British, French or American type can spring up anywhere.

The patience of the colonial peoples is giving out and they refuse to continue paying monstrous tribute to the imperialist slave-owners. For nearly three years the great 400,000,000 Chinese people have been waging a war for national liberation against the Japanese imperialists. More and more emphatically the 300,000,000 people of India are demanding their national independence. And other colonial peoples who refuse to serve as the small change in this new imperialist division of spoils are coming into action.

Even the most backward and apathetic strata of the population of the various countries are casting off illusions about the possibility of "finding shelter" from the disasters which capitalism brings the masses whom it is dragging into the holocaust of its own doom. The masses of the working people are realizing more and more that their incredible sufferings will last longer, the longer they tolerate the existence of capitalism.

Never during the two decades that the Communist International has been in existence has the question of the liquidation of Social-Democratism in the working class movement been so acute as an immediate, practical task as it is at the present time. Guided by the great teachings of Leninism, fulfilling the immortal bequests of Lenin, who passionately called upon the workers of all countries to drive Social-Democratism from their midst, the Communists will fulfil this task and thereby hasten the emancipation of the working people from imperialist war, reaction and capitalism.

THE TRIAL OF THE COMMUNIST DEPUTIES

BY MAURICE THOREZ

THE hideous parody of justice enacted before the Military Tribunal of Paris ended with the arbitrary conviction of our deputies. It was only to be expected that the military "judges" would display unusual zeal in carrying out the express orders of the rulers who have led our people into the present catastrophe. But the real trial has now commenced before the court of public opinion. It was opened by the "accused," who themselves became the accusers of the reactionaries in power, the accusers of the wretched bourgeois and Socialist politicians who have plunged the country into the horrors of a second imperialist war.

The persecution of Communist deputies and the iniquitous sentences meted out to them have torn the veil from the official propaganda which lyingly and hypocritically claims that this is a war for "right and justice." Never in France has right been held in such contempt and justice so outrageously flouted. Never in the land of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" have so many flagrant illegalities been committed in one "trial." An excellent object lesson, be it said in passing, for any workers who may still cherish illusions about the parliamentary form of the capitalist dictatorship. The bourgeoisie is showing how little it respects its own laws the moment it thinks that these laws are being used, to however small a degree, by the working class in its struggle against oppression and war.

In defiance of the constitution, our deputies were haled before a military tribunal for having addressed a letter to the President of the Chamber requesting that parliament be summoned to discuss a motion for immediate peace. Terrified by the turn taken by the open proceedings on the first day of the trial, the rulers hastened to close the court to the public. There could be no better proof that what they feared most of all was the truth, of which our deputies, faithful interpreters of the minds of the masses, were the unassailable spokesmen. The French press, in its reports of the first hearings, could not conceal the fact that the Communist deputies and their counsel had caused profound embarrassment to

the officers charged with the execution of the base vengeance of the government.

Even *Le Populaire*, that infamous auxiliary of the police in the campaign against the Communist militants, was obliged to publish the following lines:

"It would be vain on the evening of this long day in court to be wanting in sincerity or to seek to mitigate the facts. The truth is incontestable and a mere analysis of the proceedings is sufficient to prove it: the Communist deputies have gained a decided advantage and the tribunal has suffered a decided setback.

". . . From beginning to end, the morning session was an extremely rare, and to me unique, spectacle. When the President, Colonel Gaffajoli, took his seat he seemed completely at a loss, and overwhelmed by the sense of his thorny responsibility. The accused on the other hand seemed to be perfectly at their ease. The President hesitated, stammered and stuttered, issued orders and at once withdrew them, whereas the accused knew exactly what they wanted to say and said it well."

And this "Socialist" newspaper, disturbed on account of its capitalist masters, concludes: "It is quite clear that the whole thing is a very awkward mess."

Le Jour, the organ of the extreme reactionaries, spitefully exclaimed:

"The unseated Communist deputies turned the dock into a platform from which to accuse their accusers with the utmost virulence and to carry on their propaganda with the utmost fire. . . . That is the paradox and the deplorable spectacle the public witnessed."

And this fascist sheet went on to report some of the statements of our comrades: "A deputy elected by the people and illegally unseated. . . ." "Magistrates, beware of the wrath of the people!". . . "You cannot prevent the sweeping tide from submerging capitalism." Suffocating with rage, the reactionary sheet howls: "We have to listen to eulogies of Lenin and Stalin!"

And, in fact, not only did the Communist deputies denounce the arbitrariness of the charges brought against them. Worthy successors of Liebknecht and the Bolshevik deputies in the tsarist Duma, and following the admirable example set by Dimitroff, they launched a vigorous attack on the enemies of the people. They exposed the real motives for the persecution of the Communist Party, its elected representatives and its militants. They showed that in striking at the Communist Party the reactionaries, with the support of the Socialist chiefs, were striking at the interests of the workers, at the champion of the People's Front for bread, liberty and peace, at the organizer of the struggle against the imperialist war.

They unmasked the men responsible for the imperialist war, the Daladiers, Bonnets and Blums. They branded the assassins of the finest sons of our people, the butchers of the working class. The Communist deputies scornfully rebutted the vile charge of treason. They showed that

the traitors to the interests of the people were to be found in the councils of government, in the administration of public affairs, and at the head of the powerful capitalist monopolies which dominate the economic and political life of the country. "The enemy is in our midst!" the Communist deputies declared. And they loudly proclaimed their firm loyalty to their class, their Party, the Communist International, the Soviet Union and the beloved leader of the working people throughout the world, Stalin.

"We are Marxists, Leninists, Stalinists," Billoux, deputy from Marseilles and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party, proudly proclaimed. "You are afraid of us because we are the only ones to tell the truth," affirmed Bonte, deputy from Paris and member of the Party Central Committee. "We are the rightful representatives of the working people, of the oppressed, who will triumph under the banner of the Third International," cried Barel, deputy from Nice and member of the Control Commission of the Party. "We are workers, and when people have the audacity to offer us the choice between prison and treachery to the cause of the workers in order to retain a deputy's seat, we cannot hesitate for a moment," declared Bartolini, an old Toulon arsenal worker, deputy from Var and member of our Central Committee. "Do not forget that the people will have the last say," exclaimed Cornavin, deputy from Cher and member of our Central Committee.

But the Party will succeed in making known to the working people the words of truth and struggle uttered by their courageous representatives. In spite of the fact that the trial was held behind closed doors, the people will learn everything they said:

"The working people have nothing in common with this war. All it offers is death to millions of their brothers, bitter want and ruin, and the destruction of their liberties—while the financial and industrial oligarchies will draw and are already drawing huge profits out of it. . . .

"Parliament is nothing but a wretched screen for the open dictatorship of reaction. We accuse the government of having unleashed the war and of wanting to extend it to the whole world. We accuse it of preparing a criminal attack on the Soviet Union, the land of socialism and of peace. . . .

"We are internationalists. We are the only internationalists. The working people of all races and all colors are our brothers. We feel a common bond with the miners and seamen of England, the metal workers of Essen, the dockers of Hamburg, the workers of Prague, the peasants of Poland, the fellahin of Arabia, and the coolies of China, as with the free workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. . . . We love France; we love the French people. We are proud of its scientists, its thinkers, its writers, its artists, who bring it the love of the peoples of the whole world. Throughout the whole of its history and its magnificent revolutionary past, the French

people have risen up against tyrants. . . .

"We have confidence in our country, in the France of 1793, 1830, 1848, in the France of the Paris Commune, in the France of February 1934 and of May 1936."

The Party may be proud of its persecuted deputies, of its militant workers whom it has trained in the school of Lenin and Stalin. The Communist deputies have served the cause of the French people, of the international proletariat, of Communism, with credit.

In the prisoners' dock, surrounded by gendarmes and facing army officers on special service, our deputies spoke as they had spoken in the Chamber. They remained devoted champions of the working class. The exemplary behavior of the Communist deputies was the finest response that could be given to those who talked about confusion and disintegration in the ranks of our Party. It cannot even be said that the calumniators and provocateurs took their own wishes seriously, for they were well aware of the solidarity of the Party, of the determination of its deputies and its militants, who are all solidly united around the Central Committee.

The threats and maneuvers of the reactionaries have exposed the baseness of renegades like Capron and a few others, who with their liberty have regained snug parliamentary sinecures. Deputies Béchard, Vazeilles and Parsal, who were "hesitant" before the tribunal, received a slap in the face in the shape of suspended sentences.

The Bolshevik firmness of our deputies before the military tribunal is certainly an encouragement and stimulus for all the working people in the fight against reaction and imperialist war. But is it not true to say that the deputies themselves drew their strength from that broad popular movement that inspires our Communist Party, and of which they felt they were the living expression in face of the class enemy?

Our deputies spoke in the name of the only party which is a real working class party, in the name of a party which secured a million and a half votes at the last legislative elections. Sarraut, former Minister of the Interior, recalled this fact one day to the reactionary deputies, who had imagined they had already put an end to our Communist Party. Our deputies knew that in spite of the ban and the ever-increasing savagery of the persecution, our Party was continuing to perform its task of guide and organizer of the working class and of all the exploited and oppressed. They perceived from numerous indications—the viciousness of their persecutors showed it if nothing else—that Communist propaganda in the factories was being carried on persistently and effectively. So far the Party has managed to distribute the illegal *l'Humanité* regularly, to disseminate numerous leaflets and circulate several pamphlets. Our rank-and-file militants are displaying exceptional courage and that *"admirable spirit of initiative"* which Marx lauded in their grandfathers of 1871.

It is with the purpose of putting a stop to the fruitful activity of our Party and of obliterating the effects of the sensational political rebuff they suffered in the trial of our deputies, that the new government has decreed measures of repression so drastic as to be truly unparalleled.

The Daladier government had distinguished itself by its ferocious persecution of the Communists. On March 19, 1940, Sarraut, who had once given voice to the cry of hate of the bourgeoisie—"*Communism is the enemy!*"—submitted to the Senate the following balance sheet:

"The Communist electoral mandates no longer exist. Three hundred Communist municipal councils have been suspended. In all, 2,778 elected Communists, city or district municipal councilors, have been deprived of their seats.

"Measures have been taken against 443 public employees and officials belonging to the Communist Party. Many other Communists have been dismissed from posts of various kinds.

"The Communists had *l'Humanité* and *Ce Soir*, with a circulation of 500,000 and 250,000 respectively. These papers have been suppressed, together with 159 other sheets. The printing plants have been closed down. Communism no longer has a platform or press.

"Six hundred and twenty-nine trade unions have been dissolved, and measures have been taken to prevent their being reorganized. Eleven thousand raids have been made on premises that might serve for Communist meetings.

"Furthermore, 675 Communist political groups have been disbanded.

"The militants are being tracked down: 3,400 had been arrested by March 7, and the pursuit is still in progress. Numerous foreign accomplices have been interned in concentration camps or deported. In all, 8,000 individual sentences have been passed on Communists."

It was to the arbitrary emergency legislation elaborated by the sinister Thiers that Daladier and Sarraut, with the approval of Blum and Jouhaux, turned for the text of their decree banning the Communist Party on the ground of its affiliation to the Third International. The butcher of the Paris Commune in his time declared:

"It was I who conceived the idea of regarding mere affiliation to the International as a crime. Membership in this society, whose very existence is a crime, must be regarded as a new crime to be added to all those which it is the purpose of criminal legislation to suppress, for the aim of this society is to combine the efforts of foreign malefactors with those of French malefactors." (*Parliamentary Inquiry into the Insurrection of March 18, 1871, Published by the National Assembly*, 1872, p. 172.)

But even Thiers did not dare to go as far as Daladier and Blum today. Testifying as a witness before the Commission of Inquiry of the National Assembly, the chief of the Versaillese stated: "Our initial idea was to deprive them of their French citizenship, but such a measure

seemed to us too extreme." *(Ibid.*, p. 172.)

Certain Radical and Socialist leaders do not even have the scruples of a Thiers: they do not shrink from "extremes." They hope to get rid of the Communist militants by depriving them of their French nationality.

Let us add that the nine Communist deputies who are being sought for by the police, and who had been condemned in their absence in the first trial, have been indicted before another military tribunal on a charge of high treason. They are menaced with the death penalty, which is being loudly demanded by the fascists and the Socialist leaders. It should not be forgotten that in September, before the Fiery Cross *(Croix de Feu)* of Ybarnegaray, Blum demanded the execution of the Communist leaders. Nor should it be forgotten that the gangster Barthélémy, the Socialist who moved the bill annulling the mandates of the Communist deputies, demanded the guillotine for our militants.

It is therefore in response to the prayers of these blood-thirsty curs, and in the hope of intimidating the Communists and all revolutionary workers and putting an end to the Communist propaganda that is driving them desperate, that the men in power have adopted a legislative decree which surpasses all imagination. This new decree provides in effect that all persons who have any part in editing, making, transporting, distributing, or even being in possession of Communist newspapers or leaflets are liable to the death penalty on the charge of high treason. As is only fitting it is a government which includes several Socialist Ministers among its number that has earned the sorry honor of securing the passage of this monstrous measure against the working class and the Communist Party. It was even a Socialist, Serol, the Minister of Justice, who drafted and introduced this death decree.

It will be easily understood that the announcement of the Serol-Reynaud decree aroused profound indignation in France and abroad. Such measures of repression were unknown even under the odious tsarist regime. But the terrorist menace only serves to emphasize the fear of the ruling classes in face of the growing discontent of the laboring masses.

The searches of private homes, the arrests, sentences, ferocious acts of repression and terrorism flatly contradict all the talk about the "profound unity of the country." On the contrary, they point to a broad current of popular protest against the imperialist war. They are indicative of the weakness, not the strength of the ruling classes. They are also an involuntary mark of homage on the part of the enemy to our valiant Communist Party and a testimonial of its influence among the working people.

The new Minister of the Interior, the Radical, Roy, has demanded the formation of new detachments of *Gardes Mobiles,* those troops of civil war against the working class, to protect the security of the country. *(Paris-Soir,* March 29, 1940.) He is

transporting to Africa, to die in the pestilential wastes of Madagascar, our finest militant workers who until now have been interned in concentration camps around Paris (*Temps*, March 31, 1940). In spite of all their bombast, the rulers are by no means reassured. What is more, they are crowning violence by calumny.

Paul Reynaud declared in the Chamber—which gave him a majority of one vote—"We shall make every effort to explain to the working class that we are not combating Communism as an extreme-Left (sic!) doctrine but as a treasonable organization."

What hypocrisy! What impudence! Is not all the activity of the Communist Party—both before and during the war—a "crime" and "high treason" in the eyes of the bourgeoisie? The reactionary Nicole, secretary of the *Comité de salut économique*, wrote a letter to Reynaud in which he said:

"The reason the Communists have to be smashed is not only that they have applauded the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, but that they are advocates of Marxism, of an integral collectivist regime."

That is just how the working class understands it. It cannot help noting that the persecution of the Communists coincides with the abolition of social legislation, the introduction of a 72-hour week, the 15 per cent reduction of wages, the rising cost of living, and universal distress.

When Paul Reynaud hypocritically asserts that it is not so much Communism as a doctrine that he is fighting, what he means at bottom is that it is not a bad thing for the bourgeoisie to have the working class the prey of the illusion that there is an "opposition," provided that it is a purely verbal and docile one, like the "Socialist" opposition, and provided that it helps to divert the workers from revolutionary action. Reynaud moreover is betraying the plan of the reactionaries, who are trying to start a so-called "National Communist Party" with the aid of traitors and renegades that the working class has spewn up from its midst. What the Gittons and Dewezes failed to do will be entrusted to others to attempt anew. But the proletarians are on their guard against the puppets of the police and will not allow themselves to be duped by such machinations.

Just because the reactionaries know that there is no divergence between the words and the deeds of our Party, that it unites principle with practice, they are outlawing our Party and striking at our deputies and militants. But not daring to avow their real motives for persecuting the Communists, the government crooks accuse us of "treason."

But these vile adventurers who have the audacity to calumniate us, what are they but scoundrels who have been reared in treason, in an odious regime of poisonous lies?

But the working people and all honest men and women despise the calumniators and know who are their real defenders. They approve of and support the Communist

Party. They demand the liberation of the imprisoned militant workers. They demand the abolition of the terroristic decrees. Even in the ranks of the Socialist Party, and especially of the trade union organizations, in spite of the censorship and police spying, more and more voices are being raised against the persecution. The Socialist workers are discontented, worried and anxious because of the gathering strength of the political reaction. They long for peace. Some Socialists are even saying: "This war is strangely like a class war." *(Le Populaire,* February 12, 1940.)

It is with great satisfaction that the French Communists, hounded and persecuted, have received numerous testimonials of international solidarity. When our deputies stood facing the military tribunal, friendly voices—in England, in Belgium—were raised on their behalf, expressing the surprise and indignation of working people and of democrats in all countries against the regime of terror in France. In London, a big demonstration marched to the French Embassy to protest against the condemnation of our deputies and against the death decree of the Socialist Serol. In many of the big cities of Great Britain and the United States delegations were sent to the French consulates. In Belgium, Holland and other capitalist countries similar protests were sent to the representatives of the French government. But the international working class should not forget that the fury of "democratic" France is directed not only against French Communists; in many a French prison soldiers of the Spanish People's Army and gallant fighters of the International Brigades are condemned to die a slow death.

Our struggle is becoming harder and harder. But we have confidence in our people, in our working class, in our Party, which is strong in the courage of its deputies and its militants, and in the unassuming but boundless devotion of its members and sympathizers. We shall multiply our efforts and redouble our vigilance and fight for our cause come what may.

The trial of our deputies will help to enlighten the masses of the people; it is only one episode in the great fight to rescue our people from the horrors of the imperialist war. United under the banner of the International of Lenin and Stalin, the banner which was proudly unfurled by our brave deputies before the eyes of their "judges," the working people of France will succeed in driving out reaction and securing peace, and will march forward to the conquest of power, to socialism.

NO "NATIONAL UNITY" WITH THE IMPERIALISTS!

BY P. WIEDEN

IN 1914, the imperialist bourgeoisie and their Social-Democratic henchmen succeeded in all countries in releasing a veritable flood of nationalism. Not only were the peasants and the city middle classes drawn into this torrent, but so also were the masses of the workers, to the detriment of their own interests and for the benefit of the imperialists. The "national unity" proclaimed by the bourgeoisie and the leaders of the Second International sowed confusion and disruption in the ranks of the working class, dimmed its class consciousness and prevented it from pursuing an independent, international proletarian policy. The Bolsheviks alone from the very outset denounced the war as an imperialist war and strongly and consistently opposed it. They alone fearlessly swam against the turgid stream of nationalism and chauvinism, and, holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, fought against their own bourgeoisie. In some countries individual proletarian internationalists and groups opposed this chauvinism and, although not without vacillation, started the struggle against the imperialist war.

In the present imperialist war the bourgeoisie also tried, by proclaiming "national unity," talking about "national defense" and fomenting hatred of foreign nations, to win the working class for the war, to mislead and to corrupt it. Although the imperialists have nowhere succeeded in rousing anything like the war fever they roused in 1914, nevertheless, they have succeeded in instilling in the minds of the masses of the people and of a considerable section of the working class the idea that this is a war for "common national interests" and for "national defense" against foreign invasion.

In the countries of the Anglo-French war bloc the bourgeoisie is trying to exploit the anti-fascist sentiments of the masses of the people and particularly of the working class in the interests of their war and in order to give it the appearance of a "just" war, a war for "freedom and democracy." Although raging reaction in France and measures adopted by the rulers

against the people in other lands of bourgeois "democracy" have provided striking examples of the kind of "anti-fascist war for freedom" this is, many working people nevertheless hope that the victory of the Anglo-French war bloc will result in amelioration and greater freedom for the oppressed peoples of Europe. They regard the reactionary regime, which is steadily exceeding all bounds, as a passing "state of emergency" that will come to an end after the war. They fail to realize that, owing to the profound crisis and increasing disintegration of capitalism, the bourgeoisie will be neither capable nor willing to return to their old "democratic" methods of government, and that an imperialist victory, no matter on which side, can result in nothing else than the perpetuation and most extreme intensification of reaction for the vanquished as well as the "victor" nations.

Although the importance of these questions is admitted, the most decisive, however, is the fear of a victory for the *other* imperialist war bloc with all its terrible consequences, a fear which arouses among the working people in both belligerent camps the feeling that everything must be done to prevent such a victory. This fear is energetically fostered and systematically fanned by the bourgeoisie in both belligerent camps in order to convince the masses of the working people that they have no choice, that for good or evil they are bound up with "their" imperialists, and that there is no alternative but to fight for a victory of "their" imperialists.

It is common knowledge that in none of the belligerent countries are the masses of the people in agreement with "their" imperialists, with the prevailing regime; but it is equally well known that in all countries they are imbued with the feeling that their national independence, and even their national existence is at stake, "You Communists are right!" say many French workers who do not belong to the Communist Party. "We have been deceived and betrayed. Instead of defending democracy the gentlemen in the government and in the parliament are waging a campaign against democracy. Instead of protecting our liberties they are forcing us into slavery. Instead of fighting fascism, they are adopting its methods. And the Blums, Faures, Jouhauxs and Belins are playing the capitalists' game and are betraying the working class. We realize all this—but what can we do? Hitler wants to annihilate us. If we do not fight, if we do not defend France, we are doomed. We are waging this war without any illusions—but wage it we must."

And the German workers think on the same lines as the French workers. They hear the howling of the French capitalists and "Socialists" that Versailles was not enough, that a "super-Versailles" must be dictated to Germany, that she must be subjected to the "pedagogical dictatorship" of the Western Powers and that not only "Hitlerism" but the whole German nation must

be regarded as a danger to Europe. They hear all this fury and ask themselves: "Shall we permit Great Britain and France to subjugate us? Shall we not drop into worse bondage? Will we not thereby cut off our road to emancipation? Is it not better to fight Great Britain and France, since Germany's existence is at stake?" Thus, although the imperialists have failed to rouse the chauvinism and war fever they roused in 1914, they are able to exploit these sentiments as a means for the "patriotic" betrayal of the masses of the people and to strengthen their class rule under the hall mark of "national unity."

It is common knowledge that the people in all countries want peace. The imperialists are compelled to take this desire for peace among the masses into account in their propaganda. They tell "their" people that they cannot live in peace because of bad neighbors. They say that they are waging the war in order to secure peace. Unfortunately, peace cannot be secured as long as the "other side" strives for supremacy, or until it renounces it. That is why the "other side" must be overthrown, its power broken and peace be dictated to it. "Final victory" will result in the establishment of a durable peace system. In this way the imperialists strive to divert the peace strivings of the masses into war channels and to clothe their destruction of peace in the guise of concern for peace. They want to make the people forget that they have already waged one World War to "secure peace"; that the peace which they dictated, the subjugation and plunder of the vanquished nations created inflammable material for another war; that their "peace system" did not bring the people prosperity and freedom but slavery, poverty, new enmity and new war. The "final victory" of 1918 neither abolished war nor solved a single problem. How can another "final victory" suddenly perform the miracle of transforming the imperialist robbers into angels of peace and of reconciling the oppressed nations with their oppressors?

In order to make this miracle plausible the belligerent bourgeoisie strives to create the impression that there are good nations and bad nations; that it is the national trait of some nations to sow strife and violence while it is the national trait of other nations to strive for peace and justice. In order to conceal their own war guilt and to prevent the people from distinguishing between the working people and the imperialists, the imperialist war criminals strive to make it appear that every nation is a *united* whole, and that it is not imperialism, but the other nation that is the disturber of the peace, while their own nation is the champion of freedom, peace and justice. Thus, the imperialists strive *to hide behind the masses of the people of their own nation;* and thereby they help the imperialists in the other belligerent camps also to don the guise of "national unity" and to turn the justifiable hatred of the masses of the people for the im-

perialist robbers into venomous distrust and dangerous enmity towards the people of other nations. Thus the deceived masses of the people are induced to regard not imperialism but foreign nations as the enemy; instead of the Medusa head of imperialism they are made to see the features of other nations artificially distorted by chauvinist propaganda.

Only when the working people in all countries see through this vast deception will they be able to wage a real struggle against the imperialist war and its instigators and come nearer to peace.

* * *

The bourgeoisie always knew how to play on national sentiment and thus influence and mislead the broad masses of the people. Its power rests largely on a distorted, artificially disfigured, national sentiment degraded to nationalism and chauvinism.

Lenin pointed to the historical roots as well as the subsequent abuse of national sentiment in the following words:

"At the bottom of the genuinely national wars, particularly such as took place between 1789 and 1871, there was the long process of mass national movements, of struggle against absolutism and feudalism, of overthrowing national oppression and creating states on a national basis as prerequisites for capitalist development.

"The national ideology that was created by that epoch left deep traces among the mass of the petty bourgeoisie and a section of the proletariat. Now, in a totally different, imperialist epoch, this is utilized by the sophists of the bourgeoisie, and by the traitors to socialism who follow in their wake, for the purpose of splitting the workers and diverting them from their class tasks and from the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie." (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works,* Vol. V, pp. 132-33, International Publishers, New York.)

In his fundamental work on the nation and the national question Comrade Stalin defined a nation as *"a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."* (J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question,* p. 8, International Publishers, New York.)

These common features bind the members of a nation together. The traditions of the "genuinely national wars," the great national mass movements and mass experiences still influence the people. The thrilling memories of the heroic age of a nation are fostered by ancient legend and ancient songs. Words which no longer have the meaning they had in the days of the bourgeois revolution still have the power to set masses in motion. The petty-bourgeois who usually prefers to withdraw into his private life emerges from his narrow shell, as it were, and plunges into the mass torrent. The peasant, tenaciously clinging to tradition, feels safe and secure in the nation; it seems to him that the whole armed nation is ral-

lying around his house, his valley, to defend his property. The age-long peasant distrust of the "foreigner," which even exists as between neighbor and neighbor, between village and village, is bound up with national sentiment. The desire to appear somewhat better and somewhat different without much effort is easily satisfied when one can stick out his chest and smugly say: "I am a German," or "I am a Frenchman," or "I am an Englishman." Beaumarchais witheringly said of the French aristocracy immediately before the Great Bourgeois Revolution that a Count only took the trouble to be born. The same thing applies to the nationalists who only took the trouble to be born Germans, Frenchmen or Englishmen and so regard themselves as noblemen, as it were.

Thus, the roots of national sentiment are manifold, but the strongest root is, as Lenin said, the memory of the national movements and wars in the period of the bourgeois revolution which have left strong traces of national ideology among the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie and a section of the proletariat.

In the present imperialist epoch, the interests of the bourgeoisie come into sharp conflict with the true national interests of the people. On the other hand, the interests of the working class, its proletarian internationalism, is in complete harmony with the national interests of the people. In the epoch of imperialism and of imperialist crises, the proletariat is the only consistent representative and champion of the national interests and the future of the people. In his speech on policy at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International Comrade Dimitroff said:

"Proletarian internationalism not only is not in contradiction to this struggle of the working people of the individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom, but, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity, assures the *support* that is necessary for victory in this struggle." (Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, p. 81, International Publishers, New York.)

The betrayal of national interests by the bourgeoisie has been particularly revealed in the past few years: the Spanish capitalists invited hostile armies to Spain; the French capitalists systematically weakened France and hindered the actual protection of her safety, while they regarded the People's Front, the front of their own people, as the principal enemy. Everywhere, in their insatiable greed for booty they staked the interests of the nation in adventurous wars which caused the greatest hardships to the people. And in every country the capitalists are ready to betray the nation at any time if this offers profit or the safety of their capital.

The capitalists are no less skilled in exploiting the national sentiments of the people for their own interests. They know perfectly well that the people are opposed to

wars of conquest, to wars for the subjugation of other nations. That is why they and their henchmen never talk about conquest and subjugation, but always about "national defense." On principle, they only wage "wars for liberty." On principle, they always go to war because of "necessity," and have no other object than that of universal "justice." In England, they sing the psalms to the strains of which the Puritan revolutionary armies marched against the king; in France they gird themselves with the tricolor and sing the songs of the Great Bourgeois Revolution; and similar things go on in other countries.

"Accidentally," their "wars of national defense" end with the conquest of foreign countries, their "wars for freedom" with the subjugation of foreign nations, and their wars for "justice" with brutal violence and plunder. But the masses of the people believed these beautiful phrases; they recalled the period of genuine national wars and with national enthusiasm and self-sacrifice carried out the predatory plans of the capitalist robbers who had a total disregard for all nations. This tragic error will be repeated as long as the workers, and working people generally, continue to believe "their" bourgeoisie and until they realize that in the *period of imperialism, of decaying capitalism, the bourgeoisie is nothing but a venomous foreign body in the flesh of the nation, and that their social-imperialist hangers-on are venomous foreign bodies in the flesh of the working class movement.*

* * *

The bourgeoisie is unable *directly* to compel the working class to ignore its international class interests for the sake of the imperialists. For this purpose the bourgeoisie needs agents and henchmen. In most countries today, as in 1914, *the leaders of the Second International serve as the agents and henchmen of the bourgeoisie* in the ranks of the working class movement; in some countries finance capital found it necessary to relegate this function to the fascists.

In every country the class interests of the capitalists and the class interests of the proletariat, the war interests of the imperialists and the peace interests of the working people, are in sharp, irreconcilable conflict. In all capitalist countries, belligerent as well as "neutral," the nation is really split in two: on the one hand, a ruling section, which occupies all the commanding positions, which controls an immense economic, political and propagandist machine, which can rightly claim to be the *state* but falsely claims to be the *nation*. On the other hand, there are the masses of the workers and peasants, artisans and working intelligentsia, who are the actual creators of the national culture and bearers of national life.

In time of war this division of the nation finds expression in the fact that one section gains by the war, while the other section pays

for the war; that for one section war means profit, while for the other it means reduction in wages, lower incomes, longer working hours, harder work and less nutrition. It is expressed in the unlimited power of the one and the enforced obedience of the other; in that the capitalists and their henchmen are interested in war, while the masses of the people are interested in peace.

Thus, every nation breaks up into two "nations," of which one makes all the sacrifices and the other demands sacrifices; for one, war is the greatest misfortune, for the other, war is the only way out of its difficulties; one makes a brew of blood and venom, of filth and fire, which the other must swallow. Between these two nations there is no harmony, no community of interests—and the so-called "bond of national unity" is really a *chain* with which the ruling classes bind the masses of the people and drag them along.

To obscure these sharp and ineradicable antagonisms and to obliterate them from the minds of the working class is regarded by the leaders of the Second International as their special function.

Thus we see in the present imperialist war also the leaders of the Second International acting as the heralds of "national unity," as warmongers and war instigators on the side of "their" bourgeoisie. *Seemingly,* there are exceptions, and these *seeming* exceptions are exploited in the war propaganda of the Second International for the purpose of lending color to their brazen legend about the "justness" of the war. These "exceptions" are the ex-leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, who fled from that country and grandiloquently call themselves the *"Parteivorstand"* (the Party executive) and are strenuously striving for victory for the Anglo-French war bloc. The "Socialist" leaders in Great Britain and France are tireless in their declarations that this attitude of Hilferding, Stampfer and others is proof of their assertion that the war against Germany is in the interests of the working class. They hope that the working class has already forgotten how these leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, before 1933, hindered every effort to combat the growing reaction; how, after the National-Socialists came into power, they definitely indorsed Hitler's foreign policy in order to come back into favor; how even while living in emigration they lost no opportunity to win the favor of their own bourgeoisie; how they discovered "progressive features" in fascism; how they cringed before the "proud Rhine industrialists," and how they tried to weedle themselves into the good graces of the German capitalists and militarists. Kicked out of Germany by the ruling circles of finance capital, they dream of returning to Germany with the help of Anglo-French bayonets and there again to play a role in politics, to serve the bourgeoisie and to defend capitalism against the revolutionary working class.

Their whole propaganda consists in pointing out to the German imperialists that they made a mistake in deciding to fight the British imperialists instead of fighting the Soviet Union; in explaining to them that the only way to save German capitalism is to capitulate before Great Britain and to turn their weapons against the Land of Socialism. Thus, the ex-leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany still consider it to be their function to serve as the saviors of *their own* bourgeoisie and to offer themselves to the German capitalists as the most tried and reliable fighters against the revolutionary working class and against socialism. They are certainly not fighting against their own bourgeoisie; they are fighting to be recognized as more zealous supporters of capitalism in Germany than the National-Socialists.

This seeming "exception" thus turns out to be a peculiar case illustrating the rule that the Social-Democratic leaders everywhere regard themselves as the social bulwark of the bourgeoisie. And precisely like the ex-leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the other leaders of the Second International are doing their utmost to prove that Social-Democratism is a better bulwark against the proletarian revolution and socialism than fascism in all its forms.

Actually, they have entered into competition with the fascist demagogues. Were not the leaders of the Second International the very first to proclaim and to organize the struggle against the Communists without shrinking from the worst blood bath, the worst acts of terrorism, against the Communists? Are they not in all countries where they still have influence the standard bearers of anti-Communism, the bitterest anti-Communist armor bearers of the bourgeoisie? Did they not in all these countries advance the "theory" that "their" bourgeoisie was not in the least imperialistic, whereas the "enemy" was the very incarnation of imperialism? Do they not claim that the capitalists are absolutely innocent of blame for this war? Do they not claim that there is no class war in Great Britain and France, but only the most felicitous "national harmony" between the workers and the capitalists? Do they not proclaim the military tribunals, concentration camps and suppression of free opinion as patriotic measures against "traitors"? Do they not say that it is the workers' national duty to make sacrifices, to work more and to eat less, to help in the prosecution of the war and to stop the fight against the bourgeoisie? Do they not sugar-coat their nationalist war propaganda with vapid and noncommittal phrases about "socialism," after the "war has been won," of course, sometimes, somewhere, without a class war and without overthrowing the capitalists, with the kind permission of the bourgeoisie? What difference is there between the demagogy of the "Socialists" and the demagogy of the National-Socialist leaders?

We do not in the least desire to place the Social-Democratic agents of the bourgeoisie on a par with the fascist praetorian guard of finance capital. But the difference between the trumpeters of Social-Democratism and the trumpeters of National-Socialism does not alter the fact that on the *most important* problems confronting the bourgeoisie they are in agreement, that they resort to every means in their power to turn the workers away from the class struggle against the capitalists and, on the plea of "common national interests," to bring them under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, to impose upon them the predatory imperialist war policy as "the common national destiny," and to urge upon them that "final victory" for their imperialists is the only way out.

Without the assistance of these "Socialists" the bourgeoisie would be incapable of waging a war like the present one. It would be incapable of overcoming the profound feeling of the workers that their class brothers on the other side of the frontier are ever so much more their kinsmen than the capitalists on their own side of the frontier. They would be incapable of concealing the irreconcilable antagonisms between the imperialist war mongers and the masses of the people who are striving for bread, peace and freedom, and of compelling the proletariat, and working people in general, to take up arms against each other.

It is only thanks to the deception of the broad masses of the workers by the so-called "Socialists" that the imperialists are able to carry on their war—against the profoundest sentiments of the masses of the people, against the elementary interests of the working people, and against the indissoluble international solidarity of the working class.

* * *

By their propaganda in favor of "national unity" the imperialists and their hangers-on want to prevent the workers from seeing that they can strike imperialist war at the root only if, instead of desisting from the struggle against their own capitalist exploiters, they intensify it.

These are the same forces that in every country oppress their own people and go to every extreme in their insatiable desire to oppress foreign nations. Already in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels revealed the profound inseverable connection that exists between the oppression of the people at home and the oppression of foreign nations. They stated:

"In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end." (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 225, International Publishers, New York.)

The working people have experienced only too well this interaction

between oppression at home and oppression abroad. They have seen how colonial oppression results in corruption and reaction at home. They have seen how governor-generals and militarists have used the colonies as bases for counter-revolution in order, like Franco, to attack their own nation. They have seen how new conquests have resulted in the imposition upon the masses of the people in the "ruling nation" of additional burdens; how the bourgeoisie, while arming for fresh wars of conquest, imposed an iron yoke upon the workers and forestalled every serious resistance to the increased exploitation caused by the war. They have seen how with the growth of the struggle for colonies, sources of raw materials and "spheres of influence" the bourgeoisie became more and more reactionary and the dictatorship of finance capital assumed more and more brutal forms. They have seen that the capitalists obtained from the exploitation of the workers at home the means of subjugating foreign nations, and that the exploitation of foreign nations provided them with the means of bolstering their class rule at home. And, lastly, they have seen how the struggle of "their" capitalists for their share of the world booty and for accursed "world power" has in its frightful course led again and again to fresh wars. And this course will never end as long as the capitalists rule and dictate.

The connection between oppression at home and the oppression of foreign nations or, in other words, between capitalist class rule and imperialist war, will become more and more clear to the working people. They have *direct* evidence of this connection in the interplay of war and reaction, in the manner in which the bourgeoisie has combined the war with its *campaign against its own people,* with the struggle against the so-called "internal enemy." Everywhere the imperialists—as if by tacit agreement—are persecuting primarily the Communists, the most determined fighters for peace, the most devoted champions of the interests of the nation.

Thus, there is something *common* in all countries that the imperialists oppose, that arouses their fear and fury. This common thing is incorporated in the Communists, in the revolutionary workers. The Communists are distinguished for the fact that on the one hand, "in the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality," and on the other hand, "in the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." These words, with which Karl Marx and Frederick Engels distinguished the Communists in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* over ninety years ago, hold good in every respect in the present period of imperialist war.

It is in the *common* interests of the proletariat and the working people generally in all countries, irrespective of nationality, to bring the imperialist war to a speedy end, to throw the burden of war from the shoulders of the masses of the people, to throw off the heavy yoke of reaction, not to allow the imperialists to achieve "final victory" and to burden the people with new slavery, new enmity between nations and new armaments for new wars, but to strive for the victory of the people over the imperialists. It is against this common interest of the workers and of working people generally, irrespective of nationality, that the imperialists are waging war, organizing their campaign against their own people, against their desire for peace and against their demands for freedom. And it is for these common interests of the workers and the working people generally, irrespective of nationality, that the Communists are fighting.

The *common* interests of the workers and of working people generally in all countries demand that there shall not be an imperialist "final victory," that the proletarian and working people generally in all countries shall unite to resist the plans of the imperialists. *Proletarian internationalism* points to the road of salvation for the people.

* * *

The Communists, whose mission it is to point to the road of salvation for the workers, working people generally, and the masses of the people, have on numerous occasions proved that they are not indifferent to national problems, that they spurn the cowardly principle of: "slavery rather than death." The Communists support every really just war, every war that is waged to defend national independence against imperialist conquest and oppression. More than that, the Communists have always proved to be the most loyal and devoted fighters for the true national interests of the people. It was no accident that in Spain the Communists marched at the head of the working people who were defending their homes and liberties against imperialist invasion. It is no accident that in China the Communists are doing everything to unite the four hundred million people of the country against the Japanese invaders, are unerringly exposing all vacillation and treachery and are tirelessly organizing national resistance. It is no accident that everywhere the Communists are in the forefront of the struggle for the right of nations to self-determination, and for the right of nations to secession. Thus, the Communists do not deny that there are national interests which may justify a national war. But it is precisely because the Communists earnestly and consistently champion the true interests of all nations that they have the right and duty to expose the monstrous deception perpetrated by the imperialists with their so-called "national unity." This is why it is their right and duty to oppose the so-called "national unity"—which

fetters the working people to the imperialist war chariot—with proletarian internationalism, which will save the people.

We have taken as our point of departure the fact that the people have been plunged into imperialist war against their will, that they desire peace, that they are displaying a remarkable immunity to the bacillus of chauvinism, that in all countries they are opposed to the reactionary regime prevailing at home and that, nevertheless, many of them are of the opinion that the war must be carried on to save the nation, to prevent it from falling under the yoke of a ruthless "conqueror." Undoubtedly, the people are right in fearing the worst from an imperialist "final victory." But can this danger which threatens *all* the people be averted by uniting with the imperialists for good or bad?

The workers, and the working people generally, in all the belligerent countries feel that all problems would be solved if *the people themselves* had a say in the matter, if no irreconcilable imperialist demands were advanced, and if the workers and working people generally of all countries would come together and reach an understanding concerning the terms of peace. The workers, and working people generally, need no colonies. They do not desire to oppress any foreign nation. They have no interest in exploiting foreign countries. They want to live in peace and not to encroach upon their neighbors. They think it right that every nation should decide for itself whether to build its own state or unite with another state. But it is these very ideas that are branded as "treason" by the imperialists and ruthlessly suppressed. The belligerent imperialists have no objection to such ideas gaining ground in the "enemy countries," but in their own country they suppress them with all the means of intimidation at their command. Thus, in every country it is the imperialists *at home* that stand opposed to the forces of peace. Thus, in order to achieve a position in which the working people can themselves decide the question of war and peace, the forces of peace must start the struggle against their *own* imperialists in each country.

Let us assume that in one of the belligerent countries the workers, and working people generally, express their desire for peace in a great far-reaching action and declare to all nations: "This is not our war. We are opposed to all conquests and to all annexations. We do not wish to be an oppressing nation. We demand that all nations that suffer under the yoke of our imperialists be granted the unrestricted right of self-determination. These are our peace terms!"

The effect of such an action would undoubtedly be enormous. The workers, and working people generally, in the other countries will at once realize that they had been deceived and betrayed by their own bourgeoisie, that there was no "national unity" between the imperialists and the people, and that the demands of the imperialists were in sharp conflict with the de-

mands of the people. They will say to the nation against whom they have been compelled to fight: "We agree with you. We demand the same for all nations that are suffering under the yoke of our imperialists. We demand nothing from you. We will conclude peace with you!" This would serve as a basis for *stopping the war not as a result of an imperialist "final victory," but in the interests of all working people, of all nations.*

Clearly, such a solution cannot be achieved over night. It can only come as a result of a tireless, persevering and self-sacrificing struggle of the working class and the forces of peace among all working people in all countries, and can only be achieved gradually. It is equally clear that every step, every action taken in this direction will have its repercussions in other countries; that every advance of the forces of peace in one country will strengthen the forces of peace in other countries, will encourage them to advance further; and every such further advance will have its repercussions in the country that first took action.

It goes without saying that the workers in one belligerent country will not learn at once what the workers in the other belligerent countries are doing; but the truth will at last percolate through and the international character of the fight for peace against the imperialists will become apparent. In this respect it is of the utmost importance that the working class shall, under no circumstances, allow its sense of internationalism to become dimmed, shall not allow the imperialists to shake their *confidence in their class brothers in other countries,* that they never lose sight of the fact that the proletarian "over there" is not made of different clay than the proletarian over here, that he is the flesh and blood of the international working class. This is the unshakeable confidence in the international working class that Lenin called upon the workers in Petrograd to cherish when he said in May, 1917:

"We are told: 'Things seem to be asleep in a number of countries. In Germany all the Socialists are unanimously in favor of the war; only Liebknecht is opposed to it.' To this I reply: 'This one Liebknecht represents the working class; in him alone, in his adherents, in the German proletariat, lie the hopes of all. You do not believe it? Continue the war! There is no other road. If you do not believe in Liebknecht, if you do not believe in the workers' revolution, in the revolution that is maturing, if you do not believe this, then believe the capitalists!'" (V. I. Lenin, *War and the Workers.* International Publishers, New York.)

Today, there is not only *one* Liebknecht. Today, there are Communist Parties in all countries displaying self-sacrificing courage and proletarian internationalism for which they are being pursued, persecuted, imprisoned and executed. The conduct of the Communist members of the French Chamber of Deputies during their trial by a military tribunal, their appeal to the

international working class which rang throughout the whole world, lit up the imperialist war like a flash of lightning in the night. And new flashes, released by the strong hand of the proletariat in the belligerent countries, will follow, lighting up the path for the working people and heralding the purifying storm. And in the light of their own experience the workers and working people generally in all countries will realize who their *common* enemy is. Bourgeois democracy promised them increasing prosperity, security, peace and a human standard of existence, but it has led them deeper and deeper into poverty and war. The fascists promised to give the people what bankrupt bourgeois democracy failed to give them: prosperity, security, peace and justice; they have only led them deeper into poverty and war.

Thus, the masses of the workers and working people generally will realize that whatever the different systems of bourgeois government they live under may be the *common root of their evils* is capitalism. They will become more and more conscious of their common task, of their common road of salvation, and at last they will unite their forces and lay the axe to the root of their evils. And as a result, the *international fighting unity of the working class* will triumph over all "national unity."

* * *

Proletarian internationalism will save the people from being crushed by an imperialist "final victory." The following words uttered by Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International hold good today:

"The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against the exploiters and oppressors at home do not conflict with the interests of a free and happy future for the nation. On the contrary: the socialist revolution will bring *salvation for the nations* and open the road to a higher development for them."

Today, more than ever before, it is a matter of saving the nations that are being submerged in the bloody quagmire of imperialist war. It is primarily the mission of the working class, the backbone of the nation, to be the saviors of the nation. Unity of the working class against the imperialists and their hangers-on is a decisive step towards the true unity of the nation. The working class and the working people generally have before them the great example of the Soviet Union, the only country in which the people are really united, in which scores of nations are living side by side in peace and fraternity. This matchless political and moral unity is the very essence of socialist society, the society in which the exploitation of man by man, class antagonisms and national oppression have been abolished.

More and more the workers and working people generally will realize that so-called "national unity" with their own imperialists is the

greatest danger to the nation. The salvation of the nation lies in the unity and struggle of the masses of the people against the imperialist war criminals. The masses of the people can and will unite by defending their vital interests against the bourgeoisie, by fighting for bread and peace. The every-day struggle against impoverishment and oppression, against thrusting the burdens of war upon the shoulders of the working people, against the unrestricted tyranny of the bourgeoisie, is at the same time the most effective struggle against the imperialist war. This struggle for their vital interests will unite the masses of the people and thereby open the road to true national unity.

The vital interests of the working people in all countries are the same, and these interests come into ever-increasing conflict with the interests of the imperialists. The struggle that the working people are waging for bread, freedom and peace is *an international struggle.* This internationalism, of which the proletariat is the principal embodiment, is the most decisive factor in the salvation of all nations. In his article entitled "The Struggle Against the Imperialist War" (see p. 347) Comrade Dimitroff wrote:

"The more vigorously the proletariat takes the field against its own bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, the more powerfully will it stimulate a struggle against the war among the proletarians of the state with which its country is at war. That is a guarantee of success in the united international struggle of the world proletariat against the imperialist war. (See also pamphlet, *The Struggle Against the Imperialist War,* by Georgi Dimitroff, Workers Library Publishers, New York.)

In the struggle against their own bourgeoisie *the common interests of the working people* not only of each single country, but of all countries together, come to the forefront.

Proletarian internationalism which champions the interests of the workers and of working people generally in all countries and guarantees them success in their common struggle has had, since the victory of the workers and of working people generally on one-sixth of the globe, a powerful center, in the shape of the socialist Soviet Union.

By its socialism, by its peace policy, by its growing counter-balance to the imperialist world system, the Soviet Union embodies and strengthens the common strivings of the international working class and of the working people of all countries. It is much easier now than it was in 1914 for the forces of peace all over the world to find their bearings, to see through the policy of the imperialists and to protect their common international interests, because the Soviet Union shows them the way, sets them an example, and with a strong hand frustrates the secret designs of the imperialist warmongers. To the extent that the people support the Soviet Union they are furthering

their own common interests. The salvation of the people lies in the unity of the working class and not in "national unity" with the imperialists.

It is therefore clear why the imperialists in *all* countries, as if by tacit agreement, persecute the revolutionary workers and suppress the forces of peace. They do this because they do not want the people to take the cause of peace into their own hands, because they do not want the people to come to an understanding with each other against the imperialist warmongers. That is why it is in the fundamental interests of the working people of all countries not to allow the imperialists to shelter themselves behind so-called "national unity." There can be no more "unity" between those who want peace and those who want war than between blood and poison. To save the body the blood must conquer the poison. To save the nation the working people must unite all their forces for the purpose of conquering the imperialist bourgeoisie.

As against "national unity" with the imperialists at home—a united front of the working class, a people's front of the working people, and international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity—this is the weapon with which the people can combat war and the instrument with which they can break down the obstacle to peace.

DEMOCRACY IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

BY G. STEIN

IN THE years of revolution and civil war, in the restoration of the devastated backward peasant country of Russia and its transformation—in the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans—into one of the foremost industrial powers of the world, it is the Bolshevik Party that has inspired and organized all the victories of the Soviet laboring people on their difficult upward climb to the heights of socialism. The unique part played by the Bolshevik Party throughout the country and the tremendous prestige it has won for itself are due not only to its correct political and theoretical line but also to its Bolshevik methods of organization. As Comrade Zhdanov stated in his report on the amendments of the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the Eighteenth Party Congress:

"The organizational principles of Bolshevism are an instrument for the carrying out of a consistently revolutionary program and tactics." (A. Zhdanov, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 6, Workers Library Publishers, New York.)

One of the great tasks which faces the Party, in grappling with which these principles of organization are doing yeoman service, is to maintain the closest and most vital contact between the Party in power and the masses, to preclude all possible self-complacency and conceit, all degeneration into fossilized bureaucracy. The *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* explains the "secret" of the Party's invincibility and success as follows:

"A party is invincible if it does not fear criticism and self-criticism, if it does not gloss over the mistakes and defects in its work, if it teaches and educates its cadres by drawing the lessons from the mistakes in party work, and if it knows how to correct its mistakes in time." (p. 361.)

The Bolsheviks hold that the deciding factor in maintaining this constant invigorating flow is the widest development of inner Party

democracy. In the course of the Bolshevik Party's history, this democracy has been broadened as the program of building socialist society became a tangible reality. Accordingly, after the adoption of the new Stalin Constitution, in the ranks of the Bolshevik Party too a number of measures were decided on that would ensure the consistent observance of democracy in its practical activities. Comrade Zhdanov outlined these measures in his report at the Eighteenth Party Congress when he said:

"The Party . . . abolished the practice of co-option; it forbade voting by lists in elections of Party bodies and introduced voting for individual candidates; it ensured for all Party members the unlimited right to challenge candidates and criticize them; it introduced the secret ballot in the election of Party bodies; and it made the periodical summoning of city meetings of the Party *active*, and, in large cities, of district meetings of the Party *active*, a compulsory rule." *(Cited place*, p. 38.)

That in the Bolshevik Party words are not merely words and resolutions not so much paper has been proved by the election meetings held throughout the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the new rules in February and March last, at a time when the international situation was strained in the extreme. These thousands of meetings at which the members made full use of the opportunities offered by inner Party democracy bore out the words of Stalin that "inner Party democracy means heightening the activity of the Party membership and strengthening the unity of the Party, strengthening conscious proletarian discipline within the Party." One after another, the members got up to speak at the Party meetings and conferences. Whatever their position and the nature of their work, whether People's Commissars or workers at the bench, members of the Academy or plain collective farmers, they analyzed the achievements and also the faults in the work in various spheres of socialist construction and inner Party life in a businesslike way, criticized the leadership of their Party organizations and made definite practical suggestions.

Their speeches were filled with a spirit of high responsibility not only for *their* particular factory, *their* collective farm, *their* school, but also for the cause of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet system as a whole, with a feeling of profound internationalism. These speeches revealed that Comrade Stalin's directions as to the training of cadres, the extension of their numbers and the solicitude to be accorded them are being successfully applied. In Moscow alone, 30,000 people, most of them quite young, have in the past two years been promoted to positions of responsibility in political and business life.

The Eighteenth Congress decisions granting Party organizations the right to control the adminis-

trative activity of enterprises have endowed the various Party organizations in industry and production with new functions of importance. The realization of these decisions has secured important progress in production (in Moscow, city and region, output has increased by 38.5 per cent in the course of the past two years), but it has also made great requirements on the Party's forces.

At some of the Party meetings and conferences the debates were quite heated. A Soviet newspaper stated in its report that "sharp Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, on a high plane of principle throughout, was to be observed." Hardly a member of the Party but took part in the meeting of his organization to discuss the Party committee's past work and elect a new committee.

A few figures will help to give an idea of the activity displayed by the Bolshevik Party membership. Over 40,000 speakers took the floor at meetings of the primary Party organizations in the city of Moscow in the debates on the reports of their secretaries. In the Tula region 43.5 per cent, and in the Kharkov region 59 per cent of all present at the election meetings took part in the discussion. According to the information available for the Soviet Union as a whole, about 1,000,000 speakers, or a third of the total membership, took part in the debates.

At the Party meetings and conferences the speakers made a critical analysis of the way in which the bureaus of the local Party organizations and the district and regional committees had been applying the decisions of the Eighteenth Congress and following the instructions of the Central Committee; the way they had mobilized the masses to tackle the tasks facing them; and probed to see whether they had not become isolated from the masses, whether they had relied in their daily work on the support of the Party *active*. For contact with the masses, the strengthening of this contact, and readiness to lend an attentive ear to the voice of the masses are indispensable traits of every Bolshevik leader.

Stalin has said that to be a leader one must have vision, foresight. And the Bolsheviks in forming their opinions of the work of the local Party leadership judged not only by the successes achieved but by their ability to foresee events, anticipate them, and wherever necessary promptly remedy shortcomings in the work. A delegate at the Bronnitsi district Party conference (Moscow Region) said in his speech: "The achievements we have are all very well, but our business is to march on and see far ahead."

Both the primary Party organizations and the Party conferences displayed true Bolshevik firmness and candor in passing judgment on the activities of the leadership. In the city of Moscow less than 10 per cent of all the primary organizations pronounced the work of their leadership to have been unsatisfactory. In some other localities the percentage was higher, for ex-

ample, in Saratov, where 24.5 per cent of the primary organizations recorded the work of the committees to have been unsatisfactory.

In the city of Magnitogorsk, that great metal center, where huge iron and steel mills were erected at the time of the First Five-Year Plan, and whose second section is now nearing completion, the city Party committee was severely criticized, its work was pronounced to have been unsatisfactory, and new people were elected to the committee. The leaders of the old committee were charged with having too little contact with the masses and spending too much time in holding meetings.

One of the delegates described the secretary's methods as follows: "It is very difficult to get an answer or instructions about Party affairs from the secretary of the city committee. If you ask Comrade Ponomarenko, he tells you to see the first secretary, and when you approach the first secretary he tells you they will think it over and adopt a decision on the subject."

The "show Communists," the self-satisfied bureaucrats, the "persons in high places," the four-flushers and lovers of parade have time and again been put to scorn both by Lenin and by Stalin. They are coming to be fewer and fewer in the Party, but there are still some Party members who have not taken to heart Stalin's words about modesty being a Bolshevik's best ornament.

Needless to say, the fire of Bolshevik self-criticism was leveled point-blank at all such "leaders," with their fondness for parade and bustle. The Bolshevik Party does not allow the least arrogance or vanity. It demands of its members a new, Bolshevik sobriety—a valuable quality in every Bolshevik worker—requires them to be modest and exacting in their demands upon themselves. Whoever has shown himself to be lacking in these qualities will naturally never be elected to the leading Party bodies by the membership.

In Tambov, where the secretary of the Party committee, Comrade Baranov, did not heed the voice of the membership, ignored the Party *active,* was careless and irresponsible in choosing cadres, and failed to value cadres and treat them with care, he was not even nominated to the new committee. Two of the other secretaries of the old committee were nominated, but neither of them was returned to the new committee when the secret ballot was taken.

The newly-elected Party bodies consist of tried, staunch Bolsheviks utterly devoted to the Party of Lenin and Stalin. Many younger Communists have been elected to leading positions. A third of all members of the Party bureaus in Moscow have been elected for the first time. In Moscow, 2,415 of the members elected to Party bureaus are women. Of the total of 5,916 secretaries of Party organizations in Moscow, 1,518 have been elected to the position for the first time.

The most important factor in mastering the faculty of prevision

that Comrade Stalin requires of every Communist is ideological and theoretical development. A man who merely carries around his "old acquisitions" and does not work to enlarge his mind cannot keep pace with the masses and is incapable of seeing events in their true meaning, and less capable still of seeing them approach. All such people, as a speaker at one of the Party meetings said, "deteriorate into unprincipled plodders who blindly and mechanically follow instructions issued higher up," and lose the quality of Bolshevik leadership. At the Eighteenth Congress of the Party Comrade Stalin said:

"It may be confidently stated if we succeeded in training the cadres in all branches of our work ideologically, and in schooling them politically, to such an extent as to enable them easily to orientate themselves in the internal and international situation; if we succeeded in making them quite mature Marxists-Leninists capable of solving the problems involved in the guidance of the country without serious error, we would have every reason to consider nine-tenths of our problems already settled." (Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, p. 47. International Publishers, New York.)

That is why at the election meetings and conferences particular attention was paid to the Marxist-Leninist training of Bolsheviks, whether members of the Party or not. In view of the manifold duties that a Party member in the Soviet Union is expected to fulfil and is constantly exerting himself to discharge to his credit, this is no easy task. A Party member is under obligation constantly to improve his skill at his job, constantly studying to "master technique"; a Communist has numerous social duties at his place of work, in his trade union or residential section. But the Party cannot allow anyone to neglect his political, Marxist-Leninist training.

The Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union make it the *duty* of every Party member "to work untiringly to improve his political knowledge and to master the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

After the appearance of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, that masterly encyclopedia of Marxism-Leninism, it was clearly the duty of every Party member to make a thorough study of this book, the editions of which in the U.S.S.R. so far total over 16,000,000 copies. Moreover, a big movement was started for the study of the *History* with recourse to the source material it draws on. One of the results of this is to be observed in any Soviet bookshop; the difficulty of obtaining the classics of Marxism-Leninism, although the total number of copies of the various works published so far is over 441,000,000 and new editions are appearing all the time.

Nor is this surprising if we bear in mind that there are thousands of institutions where these works are studied; take as an example the

State Bank, among whose employees five hundred members of the Party and the Young Communist League are studying the *History* with recourse to the original sources—a typical occurrence in the Soviet Union. Thousands of people listen to the lectures and papers delivered on the various chapters of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* and the individual works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and attend the consultation sessions held to discuss them. In the cities, 5,500 Party reference centers, and in the rural districts 4,000, help both members and non-members of the Party to master Bolshevism.

But in this field too the Bolsheviks are not content with the results achieved. The increase in the number of Party members and candidates, the growth of the Party organizations, particularly in the countryside (where 10,000 new Party organizations were formed on the collective farms in the period since the last elections) leads the Party bodies to devote still greater attention to the ideological and theoretical training of the membership and the functionaries. That is why speakers at the Party meetings and conferences so often made a point of citing good or bad examples of work in this sphere.

Comrade Malyshev, one of the speakers at the Party conference of the Tula Munition Works, said:

"We have promoted large numbers of new people in production; they have made good headway at their jobs, but they are lagging badly in their political knowledge. Too few of our managerial staff attend the lectures and consultations. The Party committee did nothing to help the young comrades to organize their time properly."

Wherever the Party leadership gives daily attention to the work of educating the members, where they themselves are engaged in raising their ideological and political level, this work is adequately conducted. This is the case, for instance, in the Archangel Knit Goods Mill, where the secretary of the Party bureau, Comrade Safronov, himself studies hard and knows exactly how every Communist is studying. All Party members and candidates are constantly and successfully working to enlarge their political outlook. Comrade Safronov makes a point of conversing regularly with comrades engaged in independent study of the history of the Party, giving them advice and when necessary helping them by asking for lecturers and consultants to be sent from the regional committee.

The Central Committee of the Party guards punctiliously against any infringement of the principles of inner Party democracy by any organization in any part of the country. The following is an example: A decision of the Central Committee published on April 17, 1940, censures the Sverdlovsk Regional Committee of the Party for inadequately conducting the preparations for the meeting of the regional *active* and neglecting the requirements of Party democracy;

at the meeting in question, only six speakers took part in the debate and half the time went for the main report.

The Bolshevik Party is daily proving anew by its work that now, after more than two decades have passed since the conquest of power, it remains true to the principles it set itself long years before that conquest, and is jealously guarding their integrity.

In June, 1906, Comrade Stalin wrote in the *Akhali Tskhovreba (New Life)*, a Bolshevik newspaper then appearing in Tiflis:

"Real democracy means that it is the Party membership that acts in the Party organization, that the Party membership decides Party questions and general practical questions as well, that the Party membership passes *its own resolutions*, and obliges its organization to put these resolutions into effect. . . .

"What we are referring to is democracy *in action*, whereby the Party membership decides questions itself and acts itself. And we must say that this is just the kind of democracy that must be fundamental in our Social-Democratic organization."

These principles of inner Party democracy are today more vitally alive than ever in the Bolshevik Party. That has been demonstrated quite recently by the Party meetings and conferences. As for the lies about "dictatorship," "steamrollering" and "railroading" in the Bolshevik Party, with which the imperialists' hacks have filled their columns, they are refuted by a mere comparison of conditions in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with conditions in their own parties, which they claim are so free and democratic. The principles so solemnly proclaimed by these parties have been thrown overboard not once, but a dozen times, and what now remains is nothing but the name, as is the case with the many parties in France. The further a party stands to the Right the more radical is its name.

What are the rights of members in these parties? In many of them there can be, in general, no talk of regular party activity, and their members stand in roughly the same relation to the whole as the membership of a temperance league. But even in such parties as the French Socialist Party, where there are often enough lively discussions at party congresses and in the party press, all these discussions pass off without leaving any trace in the policy and actions of the party leadership. For proof, one has only to think of how far removed from the wishes of the vast majority of the Socialist Party membership in France and the Labor Party in England was the policy of Blum and Attlee in the matter of "non-intervention" in Spain, or of Munich. Resolutions came pouring in, but Blum and Attlee went on doing what they pleased, or, rather, what the bourgeoisie required them to do.

At best the members of these parties have the opportunity to talk but they are powerless to decide.

The only choice they have is whether they shall be mute or talking dummies. This brand of "party democracy" in word is very widespread; but "democracy in action, whereby the party membership decides questions itself and acts itself," will be found only in the Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin. It is this democracy in action that has helped the Bolsheviks to secure victory after victory; and it is a pledge that the Party of socialism victorious will continue to overcome every obstacle and rout every enemy in its path.

"THE PROLETARIAN CLASS AND THE PROLETARIAN PARTY"

AN ARTICLE WRITTEN BY JOSEPH STALIN IN 1905

BY V. PONOMARYOV

IN December, 1939 (No. 23-24), the Moscow *Bolshevik* published a Russian translation of Stalin's article "The Proletarian Class and the Proletarian Party." Originally written in 1905, it dealt with the first point of the Party Rules adopted by the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in 1903. It is an important contribution to the Bolshevik theory on the proletarian party of a new type.

This translation from the Georgian into Russian has now made it available to millions of people.

The article was first published in the newspaper *Proletariatis Brdzola (Proletarian Struggle)* on January 1 (14, new style), 1905, at the time when Russia was on the threshold of the first bourgeois-democratic revolution. Only a few days after its appearance the open revolutionary struggle against the autocracy began, and soon the revolutionary wave of 1905 swept the whole country.

Broad prospects opened up before the working class of Russia and an immense historical task confronted it: it was to take the lead of the revolutionary movement of the whole world. But in order to perform its historical mission of leader of the revolutionary struggle against the autocracy, in order to bring about the latter's downfall and ensure the bourgeois-democratic revolution passing over into the socialist revolution, in order to organize the victory of the revolution, the working class needed a party of a new type. Only a party that embodied the full might and power of organization of the working class, and which linked up the working class movement with socialism could devise a correct program and correct tactics for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and achieve its victory.

The creation of such a party was therefore the most decisive task that faced the working class at the beginning of the twentieth century.

What was to be the nature of this

party? Who were eligible to be its members? What was to be its organizational structure? These were all questions of cardinal political importance. On the answers to them would depend the future and destiny of the party and of the entire revolutionary movement. The creation of a real revolutionary proletarian party, with a scientific Marxian program, correct tactics and strict organization, was the most important and most essential condition for the victory of the revolution and of socialism.

In those days the only parties known to the international revolutionary movement were those of the Second International, parties of the old type, which were increasingly becoming mere appendages of the parliamentary groups and which were incapable of waging a revolutionary struggle against capitalism. To have followed the path of these opportunist parties would have meant leaving the working class of Russia without revolutionary leadership and dooming the revolution and the cause of socialism to failure.

The battle for a party of a new type began on the eve of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. There were not a few people who planned to use the working class in the interests of the bourgeoisie and to direct it onto a path agreeable to the bourgeoisie. Within the party organization itself, this was the aim pursued by the "Legal Marxists," by intellectual and other elements who acted as channels conveying the influence of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. Speaking of this period of the struggle for the creation of a Bolshevik Party in his article "Lenin as the Organizer and Leader of the Russian Communist Party," Stalin wrote:

'The task was to separate the sheep from the goats, to separate alien elements, to organize cadres of experienced revolutionaries in the localities, to give them a clear program and definite tactics and, finally, to gather these cadres into a single militant organization of professional revolutionaries, sufficiently secret to be able to withstand the raids of the gendarmes, but at the same time sufficiently connected with the masses to be able to lead them into the struggle at the required moment. . . .

"The great service Lenin rendered to the Russian proletariat and its Party was that he revealed the danger of the Menshevik organization 'plan' even at the time when this 'plan' was as yet in its embryonic stage, when even the authors of this 'plan' were able to perceive its outlines only with difficulty and, that having having revealed this danger, he commenced a furious attack against the organizational slovenliness of the Mensheviks and concentrated the whole of the attention of the practical workers on this question. For this was a matter that affected the very existence of the Party, the life or death of the Party." (Joseph Stalin, *Lenin*, pp. 7, 8. International Publishers, New York.)

Stalin's article published at the beginning of 1905 was written to

justify, propagate and defend Lenin's plan for the structure of the Party and to condemn the organizational laxity of the Mensheviks, their opportunist principles of Party organization, which would be bound to lead to the defeat of the working class.

In that initial stage of the struggle for the Party, opportunism manifested itself above all in questions of organization. It was most clearly revealed in the first point of the Party Rules as formulated by Martov at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in 1903.

The first point of the Rules, which defined the composition of the Party, was of the greatest moment in the matter of creating a militant leading organization of the working class, whose mission, as Lenin put it, was to turn Russia upside down. Lenin gave a classical definition of a Party member. But all the opportunists united in opposing him.

The first point of the Party Rules was a touchstone which would determine whether the Social-Democrats would decide in favor of the revolutionary or the opportunist camp.

As we know, at the Second Party Congress the Mensheviks, around whom all the other opportunists rallied, gained the upper hand on this question. But this only served to stimulate Lenin in his fight for a party of a new type.

After Plekhanov had deserted to the Mensheviks, and after a whole series of opportunist and schismatic actions on the part of the Menshevik leaders, who had no intention of carrying out the will of the Party, Lenin started a campaign for the convocation of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. It was at this period that he wrote his famous pamphlet *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back,* in which he laid down the organizational principles of the party of a new type.

In his article "The Proletarian Class and the Proletarian Party," Stalin subjected the Menshevik first point of the Party Rules to devastating criticism and vigorously supported Lenin's formulation of this clause. He put the fundamental question: Who is entitled to be a member of the party of the revolutionary proletariat?

All the cardinal questions relating to the structure of the Party are expounded by Stalin in this article in full agreement with Lenin's plan. With his characteristic iron logic, he explains the difference between the proletarian class and the proletarian party, shows that a proletarian party must have uniform principles of program, tactics and organization, and demonstrates the necessity for a united, centralized and closely-welded party to protect the interests of the working class.

"It is likewise clear," he says, that a party whose aim it is to lead the *militant* proletariat cannot be a fortuitous agglomeration of individual, but a closely-knit, centralized *organization,* so that its activities

may be directed in accordance with a uniform plan."

From this definition of the party follow the qualifications demanded of a party member. The question of the party as a whole, of its structure and organizational principles, and of the activity of all its component parts from top to bottom is inseparable from another question: who is fit to be considered a party member?

A party of the revolutionary proletariat can exist only as a united and centralized organization, all of whose members place themselves unreservedly at its disposal and devote their whole lives to the cause of the working class. Uniformity of political views, recognition of the party's program and observance of its tactical line must be backed by unity of organization. This makes it essential for every party member to belong to some organization of the party, to take part in its activities and work for the realization of its program.

"To be a member of the party one must carry out its program, tactics and organizational views; to carry out the views of the party, one must fight for these views; to fight for these views, one must work within the party organization and together with the party. It is clear that to be a member of the party, one must belong to one of its organizations."

The Mensheviks' idea of a party member was inseparably bound up with their idea of the party as a whole, with their efforts to build the party of the working class in Russia after the type of the opportunist parties of the Second International.

The Mensheviks had no intention of creating a centralized and closely welded fighting party. On the contrary, they held that centralism, strict party discipline and the subordination of the lower party bodies to the higher were superfluous, and advocated instead a loose, broad, "free" organization. And it was in this spirit that the Mensheviks decided who could be a party member. Martov's formulation of the first point of the Party Rules was a faithful reflection of the Mensheviks' opportunist conception of the party and of its structural principles and of the laxity of their ideas of organization.

It was the chief task of the working class movement to wage an uncompromising struggle against the lax views of the Mensheviks, for the whole fate of the party depended on it.

In this article, Stalin attacked not only the Caucasian Mensheviks, but Russian opportunists in general. He demonstrated with a rare clarity and cogency of argument that the Menshevik formulation of the Party Rules would throw open the doors of the party to every bourgeois professor or student, to every bourgeois liberal, to every representative of opportunist trends, which by their very nature would lead to the downfall of the party.

Analyzing the extremely compli-

cated situation of that period—in which the tsarist autocracy and the Russian bourgeoisie were making every effort to bridle the class-conscious proletariat, to destroy its independence as a political force, and to take it under their own tutelage—Stalin demanded that the members of the party be strictly recruited from among the finest representatives of the working class, and that the ranks of the party be protected from elements who were only liable to introduce alien influences into it and were incapable of consistently defending the interests of the proletariat.

Stalin regarded the Menshevik formulation of the first point of the Party Rules as nothing but an "invitation to a banquet," and not as a selection of real proletarian revolutionaries for membership in the party. He therefore held that the Menshevik formulation should be discarded and Lenin's formulation adopted instead.

Stalin describes the tremendous importance for the cause of the working class of Lenin's brilliant definition of a member of the proletarian party:

"The army of the proletariat has stepped into the arena of battle. Just as every army needs a vanguard, so does this army. Hence the rise of a group of proletarian leaders—the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. As the vanguard of a definite army, this party, in the first place, has to be armed with its own program, tactics and organizational principles, and, in the second place, must represent a closely-welded organization. If asked who may be called a member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, that party can only give one answer: He who accepts the program of the party, supports it financially and works in one of the party organizations.

"And this obvious truth Comrade Lenin has expressed in his wonderful definition."

Stalin's article has played a big part in the struggle for the Bolshevik principles of organization, for the Bolshevik doctrine of the party. On the basis of the guiding lines laid down by Lenin and Stalin for a party of a new type, the Bolsheviks launched a campaign for the convocation of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, which duly adopted Lenin's formulation of the first point of the Party Rules. It was on the basis of Lenin's definition of a party member, justified and developed in so masterly a fashion in Stalin's article, that the great Bolshevik Party was built up and consolidated.

Written thirty-five years ago, this article of Stalin's is still today of the utmost importance for the Bolshevik Party and the entire international Communist movement. Stalin has shown unrelaxing concern for the composition of the Party, for the selection of the finest men and women for its ranks, men and women supremely devoted to the cause of Communism.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin, which has led the socialist move-

ment to victory and which enjoys unique prestige among the workers and among all working people, admits to its ranks only the foremost and most worthy representatives of the Soviet people, and only after strictly scrutinizing and testing them. The Party acts in accordance with Stalin's precept:

"We must be extremely vigilant and never lose sight of the fact that our Party is a *fortress*, whose gates are opened only to the most worthy."

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